Sacred Books of the Buddhists Vol. XVI.

THE MAHĀVASTU

VOLUME I

A

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VOLUME I

Translated from the Buddhist Sanskrit

By

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ABBREVIATIONS IN FOOTNOTES*

A. = Anguttara Nikāya
Avś. = Avadāna-śataka
Bu. (Budv.) = Buddhavaṃsa
Cpd. = Compendium of Philosophy
D. = Dīgha-Nikāya
Dial. = Dialogues of the Buddha
Divy. = Divyâvadāna
Dh. = Dhammapada
DhA. = Commentary on Dh.
Dhs. trsl. = Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics
D.P.N. = Dictionary of Pali Proper Names (G. P. Malalasekera)
Grad. Sayings = Gradual Sayings
J. = Jātaka
J.P.T.S. = Journal of Pali Text Society
Khp. = Khuddakapāṭha
KhpA. = Commentary on Khp.
KS. = Kindred Sayings
Kvu. = Kathāvatthu
Lal. Vist. = Lalita Vistara
M. = Majjhima-Nikāya
Mhvu. = Mahāvastu
Miln. = Milindapañha
Nd. = Niddesa
Pali Dict. = Pali-English Dictionary (T. W. Rhys Davids and W. Stede)
Pv. = Petavatthu
PvA. = Commentary on Pv.
S. = Saṃyutta-Nikāya
Sn. = Suttanipāta
S.B.E. = Sacred Books of the East
ThigA. = Commentary on Therīgāthā
V. = Vinaya
VA. = Commentary on V.

* For particulars of the editions of these works see the preliminary pages of the *Pali-English Dictionary*, by T. W. Rhys Davids and W. Stede.

FOREWORD

The following translation of the *Mahāvastu* was undertaken at the request of the late Mrs. Rhys Davids. As is well known, it was her inspired aim to have all Buddhist scriptures made available for students in translation as well as in the original languages. She worked with such zeal and industry to this end that she was fast approaching the realisation of her aim when she passed away.

With regard to the translation of the *Mahāvastu* more than one scholar tried to dissuade her from the project, urging chiefly the unsatisfactory state of the text. Senart himself, the editor of the only printed text, had in the introduction to his work expressed the opinion that a complete translation would be ' à la fois longue, fastidieuse et insuffisante ', and would involve lengthy discussions on linguistic and textual matters. But in reply to such objections Mrs. Rhys Davids would argue from the standpoint of a student of religion. The text, she would say, must be coherent enough and intelligible enough in its broad outline to admit of an English rendering which would be sufficiently correct to give the reader an adequate comprehension of yet another of the books in which the ancient Buddhists had expressed their faith and belief. And if subsequent work on linguistic and textual criticism wrought so many changes in the text that a fresh translation would become necessary, this pioneer effort at a first translation would not be wasted.

The translator, who took up the study of Sanskrit and Pali primarily in order to acquire first-hand acquaintance with the religious literature of India, readily concurred with this view. And his belief in the utility of a translation of this in many ways perplexing text has been strengthened in the course of his work in translating. He is firmly of opinion that no summary of the text and no treatise on it, however lengthy and detailed, can compare in utility to the student of Buddhism with a complete translation. This is not to say that the translator is unaware or inappreciative of the linguistic and textual difficulties of the *Mahāvastu*. He has throughout endeavoured to solve these to the best of his ability. In view

of the immediate purpose of the translation the footnotes are as a rule confined to the elucidation of those difficulties which bear on the interpretation of the text. To go beyond this would involve either much repetition of Senart's long notes or equally long criticisms of them. At the same time, as much use as possible has been made of Pali texts published or otherwise made known since Senart's time. As the notes will show, Senart's conjectures when he was faced with doubtful or unintelligible manuscript readings have in many instances been startlingly successful, being confirmed by parallel passages in Pali texts unknown to him. But in many other instances it will be seen that a manuscript reading rejected by Senart needs to be restored into correspondence with the tradition preserved in Pali texts, or, it may be, in other Buddhist Sanskrit texts.*

The exact linguistic or inflexional form of these emendations cannot be readily decided. As is well known the language of the *Mahāvastu* and other Buddhist Sanskrit texts presents a problem of the first importance. It is usual to term this language Buddhist Sanskrit, but this term conveys nothing as to its origin and its relation to other Indian dialects. While in Mahāyāna texts this Buddhist Sanskrit alternates with more or less classical Sanskrit, the *Mahāvastu* uses this dialect throughout, though with some degree of Sanskritisation here and there, especially in the prose. As compared with the Buddhist Sanskrit of other texts also, that of the *Mahāvastu* is decidedly closer to Pali, although it is not easy to say how much of this approximation is due to later copyists of the manuscripts. In not a few instances one manuscript will have a Sanskrit, Buddhist or classical, form where another has a pure Pali one.

We may expect some definite conclusion as to the real origin of Buddhist Sanskrit when Professor Franklin Edgerton, of Harvard University, who has been engaged on a study of this dialect for some time, publishes the result of his researches. Meanwhile we may quote an opinion which he expressed in 1936. ' The proto-canonical Prakrit on which Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit was based, was a dialect closely related to both Ardhamāgadhī and Apabhraṃśa, but not identical with either.'

* Pali works are cited by the abbreviated form of their titles used in the Pali Text Society's *Pali-English Dictionary*.

(*Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. VIII, p. 516.) Perhaps some light may also be thrown on this question by the researches of Professor H. W. Bailey and others into the Buddhistic literatures discovered in recent years and written in Central Asian languages. Certainly, some of these languages would seem to provide some evidence for the phonology, if not the orthography, of some Buddhist terms at the time that Buddhism spread to the north of the Himalayas.

But, however fruitful they may prove to be, linguistic researches alone will not solve all the problems relative to the text of the *Mahāvastu*. They may here and there prove the greater probability of one inflexional form over the other or enable one to decide how to resolve an apparent metrical anomaly. But such linguistic criticism must take into account the fact that the *Mahāvastu* is not the composition of a single author written in a well-defined period of time. Rather, it is a compilation which may have been begun in the second century B.C., but which was not completed until the third or fourth century A.D. Even if, as Haraprasad Śāstri (*Indian Historical Quarterly*, I, 1925, p. 205) claims, Buddhist Sanskrit was a spoken vernacular of the second century B.C., it would be unreasonable to expect that it could maintain its pristine purity in the *Mahāvastu* unaffected by the influence of the Pali texts from which so much was apparently taken up, not to speak of the influence of the Mahāyāna literature with its more radical departure from the proto-canonical Prakrit. Linguistic study of the *Mahāvastu* must, therefore, proceed hand in hand with a study of the various parts of which it is composed and an examination of the probable period in which they were incorporated, as well as of the sources from which they were taken.

For our text is not a homogeneous entity. Although it calls itself the Vinaya of the Lokottaravādins, a branch of the Mahāsānghikas, the earliest Buddhist schismatics, this title gives no adequate notion of the nature of its contents. Its peculiar dogma that the personality of the Buddha was docetic, that he was really supramundane (*lokottara*) and that he only apparently conformed to the habits of men, is, apart from two or three slight allusions, dismissed in one comparatively short passage (I. 168 f.). There is hardly anything about the

rules of the Order or the history of their formation, as the title Vinaya would lead us to expect. There is early in Volume I (pp. 2–3) a description of the four kinds of ordination, but this is introduced abruptly and equally abruptly dismissed without being related to any other of the rules of the Order. Our text seems in a hurry to proceed to the more edifying story of the proclamation of Gotama Śākyamuni as a future Buddha by the former Buddha Dīpaṃkara.

As a matter of fact, the *Mahāvastu* is a collection of practically all the history, quasi-history and legends (*avadānas*) relating to the Buddha that passed current in the long period during which it was compiled. And if its claim to the title *Vinaya* is justified it can only be by the fact that the legends it records go back in their origin to the same biographical episodes which were used in the *Mahāvagga* of the Pali *Vinaya* to explain or illustrate the origin of the rules of the Order. That there is a very close relation between the *Mahāvastu* and the *Mahāvagga* is abundantly proved by the close, practically verbal parallelism between the last quarter or so of the former with the first twenty-four chapters of the latter. These parallels have been set out in detail by Windisch in his *Die Komposition des Mahāvastu.** Yet in spite of the close resemblance between the two texts there are sufficient differences to warrant the possibility that the *Mahāvastu* was not copied from the *Mahāvagga* as we know it, but drew on the same fund of legends. If this is so, then it may be argued that this part of the *Mahāvastu* is early rather than late. Examination of the language of this part may, when the true origin of that language is settled, help to decide this question.

Here then is one source of the *Mahāvastu*. But this biographical part of the *Vinaya* has been enormously expanded after the fashion first set, perhaps, by the *Nidānakathā*, or introduction to the commentary on the *Jātakas*. And it is this mass of secondary or derived legends that forms the bulk of the *Mahāvastu*. This is not to say that it contains no *sūtras* setting forth Buddhist doctrine. But apart from the special tenet of the Lokottaravādins these show hardly any variation from recognised Theravādin teaching. Minor differences, as

* *Abhandlungen der philolog-hist. Klasse d. K. sächsischen Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaften.* Bd. XXIV. No. XIV, 1909 pp. 469 ff.

for example in the account of *dhyāna* (*jhāna*), are discussed in the footnotes, but they are trivial and not of any real significance. The section on the ten *bhūmis* or stages in the careers of Bodhisattvas may at first sight seem to represent an innovation in doctrine, and mark a late period of transition from Theravāda to Mahāyāna. But the multiplying of the numbers of Bodhisattvas and previous Buddhas is not of itself a Mahāyānist trait, though it prepared the way for the subsequent development of Mahāyāna. The *Mahāvastu*, also, is careful to stress the fact that the careers described are generalised from the career of the Bodhisattva *par excellence*, Gotama Śākyamuni. In fact, it would seem that the section on the ten *bhūmis* was inserted only because it was the policy of the compilers to include in the *Mahāvastu* every piece of Buddhistic lore that they came across. It is introduced abruptly, and certain inconsistencies in the recital show that it was not really understood. Or, perhaps, the inconsistencies are due to a deliberate attempt to amend or even suppress the Mahāyānist tendencies of other tracts on the same subject. There were, for example, the Mahāyānist *Daśabhūmika* and *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, the latter of which was claimed by the Yogācāras as upholding their own particular doctrine. But the *Mahāvastu* expressly condemns the teaching of this school, for it makes adherence to it on the part of Bodhisattvas one of the causes which prevent them rising from the fifth *bhūmi* to the sixth.

The fact remains, therefore, that the chief interest of the *Mahāvastu* lies in its being a collection of Buddhist legends. Although it is styled a *Vinaya* it almost seems as if, in the course of the period of its compilation, all the elements characteristic of a *Vinaya* were deliberately omitted. The title *Mahāvastu*, ' the great subject,' no doubt corresponds to the title of the *Mahāvagga*, just as the *Kṣudravastu* of the Sarvāstivādins corresponds to the *Cullavagga*. But by the time the compilation was complete the emphasis had long been laid on the narrative parts of the subject. In almost all the colophons to the chapters the work is styled the *Mahāvastu-Avadāna*. The compilers indeed came very near achieving a mere collection of *avadānas* much resembling the collection made by the Sarvāstivādins and known as the *Divyâvadāna*.

Although at first sight these legends seem to be arranged in a haphazard or arbitrary way, the purpose of their recital is in a general way the same as that of the biographical episodes in the *Mahāvagga*. That is to say they are more or less exegetical narratives. But whereas the narratives of the *Mahāvagga* explain the occasions of the institution of the rules of the Order, in the *Mahāvastu* they are introduced to illustrate the virtues of the Buddha in his various lives, and only rarely to explain a point of doctrine. We therefore find these tales, many of them Jātakas, interspersed throughout the whole work. In spite of the apparent incoherence in the order of the contents, there can be detected in the work as a whole something like the scheme of the *Nidānakathā*. The first volume may thus be seen to correspond to the *Dūrenidāna*, or incidents in the far past of the Buddha's career; the second volume and part of the third to the *Avidūrenidāna* of his more recent history from his birth to his enlightenment, and the latter part of the third volume to the *Santikenidāna* or the history of the Buddha's career as teacher and founder of his Order.

But this is not to say that the Jātakas in the *Mahāvastu* are necessarily reproductions of those we know from Pali texts. It is true that the text of the *Mahāvastu* tales can sometimes be rectified by reference to the Pali version. On the other hand, a few instances will be found, especially in the second volume, where the text of a *Mahāvastu* Jātaka will be seen to be superior because it gives a better constructed tale. While only a fraction of the Pali Jātakas are found in the *Mahāvastu*, there are many others in it which have no corresponding Pali versions, Some of these are obviously folk-tales adapted as Jātakas. Other tales are of the type known as *Avadānas*, which seem to have been the special creation of the Sarvāstivādins. They are not unlike in their nature to Jātakas which were first fashioned by Theravādins. For an *avadāna* is a tale in which the heroism or other virtue of a living character is explained by the Buddha as the result of a good deed performed in a previous existence.

The *Mahāvagga* and the Jātakas are far from being the only parts of Pali scriptures which are to be found incorporated in the *Mahāvastu*, or, we should more correctly say, which have their parallels in it. There are considerable quotations

from other traditional Buddhist literature, as, for example, passages parallel to Pali ones in the *Khuddakapāṭha, Vimānavatthu, Buddhavaṃsa, Suttanipāta,* and the *Dhammapada.* And though the Pali version has generally the aspect of a more primary version, this is not always or necessarily so. The verses of the *Khaḍgaviṣāna-sūtra* (I. 357 ff) certainly seem to be more primitive than the corresponding Pali in the *Suttanipāta,* though the prose framework in which they are embedded is much later. Here, again, a close linguistic study will be necessary to confirm the findings of a study of the internal evidence.

If the three volumes of the translation of the *Mahāvastu* were being published together it would be possible as well as profitable to draw up a table of all passages in it to which parallels are found in Pali texts, not forgetting also the Buddhist Sanskrit texts. But as only one volume is now being published a comprehensive survey of the whole is impracticable. The present translation is primarily for the student of Buddhism who has no knowledge of Sanskrit, and arguments based on the contents of untranslated volumes would be profitless and even baffling to him. When the third and final volume comes to be published, the translator intends to include in it such a table as that referred to. This table may be rendered still more instructive as to the history of the contents of the *Mahāvastu,* and, therefore, of Buddhist belief, by the inclusion of evidence derived from Chinese and Tibetan sources. Also, the Central Asian literatures which have been already referred to, and which scholars are daily making more accessible to the general reader, are likely to provide useful material for comparative study.

In the meantime parallel Pali passages are as often as possible indicated in the footnotes. As will be seen from many examples the citation of the corresponding Pali has often been the means not only of restoring the right reading where the manuscript tradition was unintelligible, but also of making explicable many an obscure allusion.

With regard to the translation itself an effort has been made to make it as literal as possible. The reader should not look for a uniformly elevated style. That could not be achieved without departing too much from the form and manner of the original. No succinct literary judgment on the *Mahāvastu,*

which will be true of the whole of it, is possible. Some passages do attain a degree of artistic charm which is worthy of comparison with the best in any literature. This is especially true of some of the verse passages, although these are not necessarily the work of any author associated with the compilation of the *Mahāvastu*. Many of them are traditional Buddhistic ballads, and owe their charm to the very nature of their origin and mode of dissemination. But however poetic the style, and however strong the temptation to be led by it to make a metrical rendering of the verse passages, it has been deemed more prudent to make a literal translation in prose form, and make them recognisable only by the visual aids of italics and indentation. The wisdom of this procedure was especially made evident whenever there was occasion to consult, for purposes of comparison, some verse passage in the Pali Jātakas. Too often was it found that in spite of the metrical ingenuity of the verse translation, it provided little or no help in the construing of the Pali original. Sometimes, indeed, the translation was seen to be inexact or even incorrect.

The style of the prose is not easy to describe, for there is such a variety of it. The form and manner of passages giving canonical doctrine would, of course, have to be fixed, and would give no scope for any literary ability on the part of the compilers. It is impossible to say whether they were incorporated at a time when they were still faithfully memorised as part of the training of Buddhist monks, or whether they were copied from already written scriptures. But many of the narrative passages have all the appearance of being written directly as they were recited in oral tradition. They are the unadorned tales of the primitive story-teller, for whom every word of the tradition as it had come down to him was sacrosanct. For example, there is the constant repetition of details in the narrative. Nothing is left open to the chance of being forgotten by a fickle memory. If a king decides to send a message he is made to speak out all the details of it as he thinks them out. The message is then given to the messenger and again we have it repeated in the exact words the king had formulated. The message is again repeated in full to the recipient, and if the first recipient is a door-keeper the message will yet again be repeated to his master. Again,

a series of actions may be recounted as preliminary to a main action. When the main action comes to be recounted it can only be done by faithfully repeating in the same words all that had gone before. Our story-teller would have none of the adventitious aids of such phrases as ' when he had done so '. This is not to forget the frequent occurrence of the phrase *evam ukte*, ' when it had been thus said or spoken '. This expression does at first sight seem to serve the purpose of avoiding repetition. But in reality it is as much a feature of a primitive style as the Homeric ' thus he spoke ', which became a trite conventionality in later epic. Readers of written literature, with leisure to consider the construction of a narrative, would not need to be expressly reminded at the end of it that what they had just read was a quoted speech. But the phrase would be a useful guide or signal to the hearer of an oral recital. Again, there are a few instances where aforementioned events are referred to collectively as *artha* or *prakṛiti* (' matter ' or ' circumstances '), and here, no doubt, we definitely have a literary device for the avoidance of repetition. Whether or no this device occurs in passages which can be demonstrated to be comparatively late, the fact remains that a tendency to repetition is a striking and persistent feature of our text, as, indeed, it is of much of early Buddhist literature. It would, of course, be easy to paraphrase these repetitions, which may seem tedious and puerile to the English reader. But that would be to tamper unduly with what is so characteristic of the style of the *Mahāvastu*. So these repetitions are as a rule translated in full.

There are repetitions of another order in the *Mahāvastu*. The compilers were not always satisfied with giving only one version of a legend or episode. Two and more versions are often found, sometimes following one another, sometimes far apart. In the former case the first will generally be in prose, and the others in verse. The legend of the Buddha's birth is given four times, although in different parts of the work and in connexion with different occasions. These different versions would, no doubt, on close study reveal a difference in dates of composition. For example, of the two accounts in the second volume of the Buddha's departure from home, the first can readily be seen to be more primitive.

This foreword is not meant to serve as a complete introduction to the contents of the *Mahāvastu*. These will be found analysed by Senart in his introductions to the three volumes. For a general account of the *Mahāvastu* and its place in the history of Buddhist literature the reader may be referred to the second volume of Winternitz' *History of Indian Literature* and to the article by L. de la Vallée Poussin in the eighth volume of Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*. The latter quotes largely from Barth (*Journal des Savants*). The article on the Bodhisattvas by the same author in the second volume of the same encyclopædia should be read in conjunction with Har Dayal's *The Bodhisattva Doctrine* in *Buddhist Sanskrit Literature* (1932). Further there is the work of B. C. Law entitled *A Study of the Mahāvastu* published in Calcutta in 1930. This contains translations of many extracts. References to the *Mahāvastu* are found in many modern treatises on Buddhism. In particular, E. J. Thomas in *The History of Buddhist Thought* (1933) makes a valuable contribution to the study of the *Mahāvastu* and its place in the development of Buddhist doctrine.

A few words are necessary to explain the treatment adopted for Buddhist terms. Even the general reader with no special knowledge of Buddhism does not require to have explained to him the meaning of terms like karma, dharma and nirvana. These words are therefore left untranslated and are not even commented on in the footnotes. Deva, too, although it was at one time translated ' angel ', can be assumed to be by this time sufficiently well known to readers of Buddhist texts and translations. Devas were merely good men in the better after-world which they have merited by their goodness, although, as was natural in a system of ethics so highly organised and minutely systematised as that of the Buddhists, there were grades of them determined by the degree of their goodness. The highest classes can hardly be distinguished from gods, and they did actually include some of the deities of the Hindu pantheon like Brahmā and Indra. A late systematisation in the Pali Canon of the various classes of devas divided them into *sammuti-devā*, or conventional gods (kings, queens, princes), *visuddhi-devā*, devas by purity (Buddhas and Arhans), and *upapatti-devā* (the Four Great Lords and Indra,

with their companies, etc.).* Even the vaguely conceived and still half-animistic supernatural beings of village, field and forest were admitted into the last of these classes, though their *gati* or sphere of existence was still the earth, and so they could be styled *bhūmyā devā* (*bhumma-devā*). A female deva (*devī* or *devatā*) figures in several episodes in Buddhist legend. Indeed, if the translator has not gained a wrong impression, the divinities of the lower culture play a rather more prominent part in the *Mahāvastu* than in other Buddhist works.

Other Buddhist terms for which it would be difficult to find a single English word as an equivalent are left untranslated, but are explained in a footnote when they first occur. For the same reason certain Indian expressions of number, space and time are also left untranslated.

It remains for the translator to make grateful acknowledgment of the ready help rendered him by various scholars. Mrs. Rhys Davids took the greatest interest in the progress of the work. Even more valuable than her constant and expert help was the zeal with which she inspired the translator to carry on when the difficulties seemed insurmountable. It is a matter of great regret that she is not here to see the completion of the work.

Dr. W. Stede read an early draft of part of the translation. He made many suggestions which were not only helpful with regard to the specific points concerned but also served to guide the translator in the rest of his work. He again read part of the manuscript in its final draft, and it was gratifying to have his commendation of the progress shown in this as compared with the first draft. Subsequently Mr. C. A. Rylands, of the School of Oriental and African Studies, read various portions of the manuscript and the translator is indebted to him for light on several difficult points of grammar and vocabulary. Professor H. W. Bailey read part of the manuscript just before it went to press and made some helpful criticisms.

To Miss I. B. Horner, the editor of the Series, the translator's debt is greater than can be adequately expressed in words.

* See *MA*. 1.33, and other references in *Pali Dictionary*.

She carefully read the whole manuscript and returned it with sheets full of suggestions for its improvement. The translator thus has had the benefit of Miss Horner's wide knowledge of Pali literature. Many of the references to parallel passages in Pali, especially the more recondite ones, are due to her, and she has cleared up many a problem of Buddhist philosophy which was hitherto obscure to an inexperienced worker in the field. She has continued giving her generous help right up to the reading of the final proofs. She has earned the translator's gratitude also by her indefatigable efforts to secure the publishing of the translation, and it is good to think that her efforts are being crowned with success.

But the translator himself must be held responsible for all the faults there may be in his work. If these are unduly many the critic is beseeched to be lenient with one whose enthusiasm for things oriental may have outrun his aptitude.

Lastly a tribute is due to the translator's wife who has helped by bearing with patience the long and lonely hours of her husband's withdrawal in his study.

J. J. JONES.

Aberystwyth,
April, 1949.

PROLOGUE

Om ! Homage to the glorious mighty Buddha, and to all Buddhas, past, future and present.

Here begins the *Mahāvastu.*

There are these four stages in the careers[1] of Bodhisattvas. What are the four ? They are the "natural" career, the "resolving" career, the "conforming" career, and the "persevering" career.[2]

Homage to Aparājitadhvaja, a Tathāgata,[3] an Arhan,[4] and perfect Buddha, in whose presence the root of goodness was planted by this very Śākyamuni, the Exalted One, when as a universal king[5] he lived in the "natural" stage of his career.

Homage to the Śākyamuni of long ago, a Tathāgata, an Arhan, a perfect Buddha, in whose presence this very Śākyamuni, the Exalted One, when he lived in the "resolving" stage of his career as head of a guild of merchants, first vowed to acquire the root of goodness, saying, "May I in some future time become a Buddha, a Tathāgata, an Arhan, a perfect Buddha, like this exalted Śākyamuni ; and may I, too, be called Śākyamuni" *and so on to the words* "and may Kapilavastu[6] be my city too."

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[1] Literally, "There are these four careers."

[2] *I.e.*, the *prakriticaryā*, the career of a bodhisattva when he lives an ordinary "natural" life at home ; the *praṇidhānacaryā*, that in which he "vows" to win enlightenment ; the *anulomacaryā*, that in which he lives in "conformity" with that vow ; and the *anivartanacaryā*, the career in which he is permanently set on the attainment of enlightenment, without possibility of failing or "turning back."

[3] An appellation of the Buddha, literally either "one who has thus gone" *tathā-gata*, or "one who has thus come," *tathā-āgata*. The ancient commentators give many fanciful explanations of this term. It has been suggested, *e.g.*, by Mrs. Rhys Davids, that it means "one who has reached the truth," *tatha* = "true," being an adjective from *tathā* = "thus." For recent discussions of the meaning of this term see E. J. Thomas, *Bull. School Oriental Studies*, 8. 781–8 ; Schayer, *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* II (1935), and A. Coomaraswamy, *B.S.O.S.*, 9. 331. (The translator owes these last references to Prof. H. W. Bailey.)

[4] Vedic *arhant*, Pali *arahant*, literally "worthy," "deserving," etc. (*arh*). Used in Buddhism to denote one who has qualified for nirvana. As an appellation of the Buddha it is here written with a capital initial.

[5] *Cakravartin*, literally a "wheel-turner," generally the title of a king ruling over the four continents (see p. 7).

[6] A city in the Himalayas, the capital of the Śākyans, and the birthplace of Śākyamuni. In the *Mahāvastu* it is often (*e.g.* 1. 43) called *Kapilāhvaya*, *i.e.* (the city) "called after Kapila," the sage who was its reputed founder.

Homage to Samitāvin, a Tathāgata, an Arhan, a perfect Buddha, in whose presence this very Śākyamuni, the Exalted One, made a vow to conform when, as a universal king, he lived in the "conforming" stage of his career.

Homage to Dīpaṃkara, a Tathāgata, an Arhan, a perfect Buddha, who first proclaimed of this Exalted One that now is, "Thou wilt become, O young man, in some future time, after immeasurable, incalculable, infinite *kalpas*,[1] a Tathāgata, an Arhan, a perfect Buddha, called Śākyamuni." (I shall relate at length (2) this proclamation concerning the youth Megha in the chapter on Dīpaṃkara.[2]).

After that time, when the Tathāgata Dīpaṃkara was in the "persevering" stage of his career, the words "thou wilt become a Buddha" were proclaimed by countless Tathāgatas subsequent to him.

Afterwards the following proclamation was made by the exalted Sarvābhibhū: "Thou, monk Abhijit, wilt in the future, in a hundred-thousand *kalpas*, become a Tathāgata, an Arhan, a perfect Buddha called Śākyamuni. (I shall later on recount all this and the rest concerning the monk Abhijit.).[3]

Homage to Vipaśyin, a Tathāgata, an Arhan, a perfect Buddha. Homage to Krakutsanda, a Tathāgata, an Arhan, a perfect Buddha. Homage to Kāśyapa, a Tathāgata, an Arhan, a perfect Buddha, by whom this present exalted Śākyamuni was proclaimed and anointed heir to the throne. "Thou, Jyotiṣpāla, wilt in some future time immediately after me become a Tathāgata, an Arhan, a perfect Buddha, and thou also wilt be called Śākyamuni." (I shall relate at length the prediction made of the monk Jyotiṣpāla.).[4]

And so, homage to all Buddhas, past, future and present.

Here ends the prologue of "homages".

Here begins[5] the *Mahāvastu*, which is based on the redaction

[1] *Kalpa*, Pali *kappa*, an age or cycle of the world. When used alone it connotes the period of both the integration and the disintegration of the world. See p. 43.

[2] See p. 152.

[3] See Vol. 3.

[4] See p. 265, where his name is spelt *Jyotipāla*.

[5] Evidently, another prologue or fragment of introduction taken from a different recension. Both the first and second are obviously incomplete and form an ill-fitting introduction to the text.

of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* made by the noble Mahāsānghikās,[1] the Lokottaravādins of the Middle Country.[2]

Ordinations are of four kinds, namely, self-ordination, ordination by the formula, "Come, monk," ordination by a chapter of ten monks, and ordination by a chapter of five. The ordination called self-ordination (3) was that of the Exalted One near the *bodhi*[3] tree.

All those who live in the practice of the ten right ways of behaviour[4] thereby get nearer to enlightenment, but Śākyamuni in this respect won especial distinction. After living in the practice of those good deeds which fitted him to receive the Buddha's teaching, he in due course came to Dīpaṃkara. And when he saw him, conspicuous for beauty among *koṭis*[5] of beings, altogether lovely and inspiring confidence, with his company of disciples around him, Śākyamuni conceived the thought of emulating him. "Well would it be," said he, "if I, rising superior to the world, living for the good of the world, should be reborn for the sake of this world."

Dīpaṃkara, aware of the effort Śākyamuni had made to win enlightenment, and of the vow he had made, proclaimed that he would win an equality[6] with himself, in short an equality with a Self-becoming One.[7] "An immeasurable future hence," said he, "thou wilt become a Buddha, of the house of the Śākyans, a scion of the Śākyans, for the welfare of devas and men."

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[1] The Mahāsānghikas were a Buddhist sect formed at the time of the Second Council, at Vesāli, 338 B.C. They subsequently split up into several schools, among which the Lokottaravādins seem to approximate closest to the original sect. These latter believed in the supramundane nature of the Buddha ; his human traits while on earth were only apparently so. Compare the Docetae of early Christianity.

[2] That part, variously delimited, of central India, which was the birthplace of Buddhism.

[3] Popularly called the Bo tree, or the tree under which a Buddha sat when he achieved enlightenment. The particular tree under which Gotama Buddha sat was the fig tree (*Assattha* or *Ficus Religiosa*). The Bo trees of other Buddhas are also specified. See e.g. pp. 99, 124, 204.

[4] *Daśa kuśalā karmapathā*, the equivalent of the ten *śīlāni* or precepts of Buddhist ethics. See note p. 168.

[5] A *koṭi* strictly denotes one hundred thousand, or, according to others, ten million, but is here and elsewhere used to denote "innumerable."

[6] *Samatā*. This word, as Senart shows, could also be rendered "equability," "impassibility," *i.e.*, the equability of self and of a Self-becoming One respectively. Cf. *Miln.* 351, *dhātusamatā*, "ease to the limbs." In *Mhvu.* I. 96, *samatā* means simply "equality." Cf. *Mānava Dharmaśāstra* xii. 90, *devānāmeti sāmyatām* "he becomes the equal of the gods."

[7] *Svayaṃbhū*, an appellation of the Buddha.

He, to whom it was thus foretold by the Exalted One, the lord of men,[1] that he would win pre-eminence among men, lived the life of a pre-eminent man, a foremost man,[2] a consummate man. During his career as a Bodhisattva, he lived through many lives, seeking the good and happiness of men, a Bodhisattva for the world's sake and his own. In all he did he ensued charity, morality, justice,[3] and self-denial, seeking the welfare of the world, and aloof from self-interest.

The Conqueror[4] won men by appealing to them on four grounds,[5] namely, his generosity, his affability, his beneficence, and his equanimity in prosperity and adversity. There was nothing he possessed which he was not ready to give up. Time and again, when he saw a beggar the sight gladdened his heart.[6] Repeatedly he gave up his eyes, his flesh, his son and his wife, his wealth and his grain, his self and his very life.

In this manner he passed through a *nayuta*[7] of hundred-thousand births, (4) a Bodhisattva intent on the welfare of beings, having true discernment of the right occasion and befitting conduct,[8] and skilled in the knowledge of the diversity of man's individuality.[9] Yearning for the due time[10] he passed into the world of the Tuṣita[11] devas. There the Sugata[12] destroyed liability to existence by reflecting on its impermanence, and thence entered on what was to be his last existence.

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[1] *Puruṣasiṃha*, literally " a lion of a man."

[2] *Agrapuruṣa*. Elsewhere in the text this appellation is used as a synonym for Buddha and is then written with capital letters in translation.

[3] *Samaya*, or " (conduct befitting) the occasion."

[4] *Jina*, an appellation of the Buddha.

[5] Or " four bases of sympathy," *saṃgrahavastu*. See *A*. 2. 32, where the last term of the series is *samānattā*. This is translated (*Grad. Sayings*, 2. 36) as " treating all alike." The Commentary, however, explains the term by *samānadukkhabhavo*, *i.e.* " imperturbable," which is analogous to the *samānasukhadu:khatā* of the text.

[6] I.e., it gave him an opportunity for charity.

[7] Pali *nahuta*, " a hundred-thousand millions," denoting a number beyond comprehension.

[8] *Kālajña* and *samayajña*. For the former, *cf*. *A*. 2. 101, *kālaññutā*, " discrimination of proper occasions."

[9] *Pudgalaparāparajñatā*. Senart compares *Lotus*, fol. 69a, *Vīryaparāpara*, which Burnouf translates " les divers degrés d'énergie."

[10] *Samaya*.

[11] *I.e.* " The Happy Devas." Their world or heaven, also called Tuṣita, was the fourth of the six deva worlds.

[12] Literally " Well-gone," an appellation of the Buddha.

In order to secure release from existence, the Exalted One, extremely emaciated by his mortifications and austerities, passed his life subsisting on only one sesamum seed and one jujube fruit. But after extreme mortification of his body, he realised that that was not the way of release.

When he had duly bathed in the river Nairanjanā,[1] fearless like a lion he settled in the city called Gayā.[2]

In the first watch of the night, the Exalted One thoroughly cleared his "deva-eye"[3] from all defect, and comprehended the different comings and goings of men. In the middle watch he called to mind previous existences of others and of himself, and came to know the various occasions of former existences. In the last watch he woke in an instant and spontaneously to what is to be known by the Driver of tameable men,[4] to the equanimity of a Self-becoming One.

Here end the verses on the subject-matter of the *Mahāvastu.*

The Exalted One, the perfect Buddha, having fully achieved the end he had set himself, stayed in Śrāvastī,[5] at the Jeta Grove in Anāthapiṇḍika's park,[6] teaching devas and men. (This occasion is to be described in detail.)[7]

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[1] Identified with the modern Nīlājanā, rising in Hazaribagh.

[2] Between Benares and the Bodhi-tree.

[3] See p. 125.

[4] *Puruṣadamyasārathin.* The corresponding Pali term has been variously translated: "Guide to mortals willing to be led" (Prof. Rhys Davids); "The Bridler of men's wayward hearts," "Driver of men willing to be tamed" (Prof. and Mrs. Rhys Davids); "Tamer of the human heart" (Lord Chalmers)

[5] Identified with Sāhet-Māhet on the banks of the Rapti.

[6] A rich citizen of Śrāvastī who bought the Jeta Grove as a retreat for the Buddha.

[7] See page 34 of text.

MAUDGALYĀYANA'S VISITS TO HELL

Now the venerable Mahā-Maudgalyāyana often went on a visit to hell. There (5) in the eight great hells, each with its sixteen secondary[1] hells, he saw beings enduring thousands of different hellish torments.

Many were the torments which the venerable elder Kolita[2] saw beings suffering in the hells as he went on his way. In the Sañjīva hell people had their feet upwards and heads downwards, whilst they were destroyed with hatchets and knives. Others, again, instigated by malevolence, assailed one another with claws of iron, and in their hands appeared sharp sword-blades with which they rent one another. Yet they do not die as long as their evil karmas are not exhausted.

In the great hell Kālasūtra he saw beings with their limbs lashed with black wire,[3] beaten and maimed and cut piecemeal with hatchets and saws. But their bodies, although beaten and mauled, grow again to undergo the same hideous torments. And thus they do not die, because they are upheld by karma.

In the great hell Sanghāta, too, he saw thousands of beings tormented by the mountains that are afire, ablaze, and aflame, while the rivers run blood. Yet, in spite of their continually roving over these mountains, they do not die, because they are upheld by karma.

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[1] *Utsada-niraya*. *Utsada* = Pali *ussada* is a term of doubtful signification. If, as the *Pali Dictionary* suggests, it is from *ud* and *syad*, the sense may be "swarming with," "full of," and this suits the frequent use of the adjectival compound *sattussada* "crowded with beings" (*sattva*) to qualify *niraya*. But *sattussada* is also referred to *sapta-ussada*, as in *sattussada* "having seven protuberances," one of the characteristics of a Mahāpuruṣa (see p. 180). In *Divy*. 620, 621, *saptossada* is even found in the former sense. In the present instance *ussada* is better taken in the sense of a "protuberance," "eminence" (cf. Skt. *utsedha*), "outgrowth," whence an "annexe" or "secondary" (hell).

[2] The personal name of Maudgalyāyana, which was a clan name.

[3] *Kālasūtra*. According to Senart this is "un certain instrument de supplice que je n'ai pas les moyens de déterminer plus précisément." But Morris in *J.P.T.S.*, 1884, p. 76–8, has an interesting note on this word, and the Pali instances of its use cited by him make it clear that it meant a "measuring-line" or "rule" of wire, hence "black," put round a log of wood to guide the saw. It becomes clear, also, that the denominative verb *sūtraya*, here and below, has the quite normal sense of "tie round" or "lash," and not as Senart conjectures that of "mettre en morceaux" or "en charpie." Kirfel, *Kosmographie der Inder*, 202 refers to a discussion of this term by F. W. K. Müller in *Ethnologisches Notizblatt*, I. (The translator owes this reference to Prof. H. W. Bailey.)

In Raurava he saw many thousand beings suffering thousands of torments, being enclosed by solid masses of copper which was afire and ablaze, amid dense smoke.

In Mahā-Raurava which is afire, ablaze (6) and aflame, he heard the loud wailing of those who were hurled into the fire. And the cries of the wailers re-echoed in the great mountains of Cakravāḍa[1] and Mahā-Cakravāḍa, where they reached the ears of men in the four great continents of Jambudvīpa, Pūrvavideha, Aparagodānīya, and Uttarakuru.[2]

In Tapana he saw several thousands experiencing extremely terrible sufferings, being ground from heel to neck by iron grinders, and undergoing thousands of other torments as well. Yet even so they do not die, because they are upheld by karma. In this great hell, which is afire, ablaze and aflame, many thousands are reborn and suffer agonies. In this great hell which is a hundred *yojanas*[3] in perimeter, the thousands of flames which leap up from the eastern wall beat against the western; the thousands of flames which leap up from the western wall beat against the eastern. Leaping up from the southern wall they beat against the northern, and leaping up from the northern wall they beat against the southern. Leaping up from the ground they beat against the roof, and from the roof they beat against the ground. Those thousands of beings collapse on all sides, but they do not die yet, because they are upheld by karma.

In the great hell Pratāpa there are mountains which are afire, ablaze and aflame. [The denizens of this hell] are driven to run over these mountains by hellish creatures armed with pikes. Such are the torments they undergo, but they do not die yet, because they are upheld by karma.

Then, released from this great hell they plunge into Kukkula. There also in Kukkula these people run about in flames (7), but they do not die yet, because they are upheld by karma.

Released from Kukkula they plunge into Kuṇapa. There they are devoured by black creatures with jaws of iron. But still they do not die because they are upheld by karma.

[1] The name of a whole world-system, in the centre of which is Mount Sineru, itself surrounded by seven mountain ranges.

[2] Each *Cakravāḍa*, of which the number is countless, consists of four great continents with these names.

[3] A *yojana* is about seven miles.

Released from the secondary hell Kuṇapa they catch sight of delightful trees on the edge of a forest, and in search of relief they run thither. But there, hawks, vultures, ravens and owls with beaks of iron drive them from under the verdant tree[1] and consume their flesh. When their bones alone are left, their skin and flesh and blood grow again, and so they do not die, because they are upheld by karma.

Terrified by these birds, and deeming there was refuge where there was none, they enter the forest where the leaves are swords, and which is the hell Kumbha. When they have entered it, winds blow and cause the sharp sword-leaves to fall. These strike against their bodies, and on the body of none of them is there a spot which is not stabbed, not even a spot the size of the pore of a hair-root. But they do not die yet, because they are upheld by karma.

These beings, prostrate with wounds and with their bodies drenched with blood, then plunge into the river Vaitaraṇī,[3] a river of hard acid water, by which their flaccid bodies are pierced.

The warders of hell raise their bodies thence with hooks of iron, and set them out in array on the fiery, blazing (8) and flaming ground of the river bank. Then they ask them, "Ho! fellows, what is it that you want?" They reply, "Verily we are dying of hunger and parched with thirst." Then the warders of hell force open their mouths with bars of fiery, blazing and flaming iron.[1] They forge pellets of iron

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[1] The context shows that the locative *ārdravṛkṣe* must be given a partially ablative force. The expression recurs several times below. (See pp. 11 to 19.)

[2] A river of hell.

[3] *Ayoviṣkambhanehi mukham viṣkambhayitvā.* Senart translates by "leur ayant fermé la bouche au moyen de bâillons en fer," that is, he takes *viṣkambh* as an emphatic form of the simple *skambh* or *skabh.* But as the victims are immediately afterwards described as being forced to eat and drink it is not quite easy to see the point of "gagging" them. It would seem to be better to take *viṣkambh* in its other sense of "fix asunder" (Monier-Williams), "losmachen" (Böhtlingk & Roth), especially as we have here the causative form of the verb. *Viṣkambhana* would then be an "obstacle" against the victims' closing their mouths, that is, a bar or something similar. Of course, we are told that before the eating and drinking the victims had their mouths opened (*vivarayitvā*), but this does not necessarily imply a second act on the part of the tormentors. It may merely mean that the pellets were thrown into their mouths "already opened" by the previous act. The following passage in *J.* 5. 268 supports this interpretation: *vikkhambham ādāya vibhajja rajjuhi—vatte mukhe saṃsavayanti rakkhasā,* i.e. "with a prop (fixed with) ropes the Rakṣases divide (= force open) their jaws and pour liquid into their mouths".

and make those beings open their mouths into which they then throw these pellets of fiery, blazing and burning iron. "Eat this, fellows," say they. Then they tender them a drink of molten copper, saying, "Drink fellows." This molten metal burns their lips, their tongues, their palates, their throats, their entrails; it assails their bowels and passes on to their lower parts. But they do not die yet, because they are upheld by karma.

Thus when the elder Mahā-Maudgalyāyana had seen the beings in the eight hells undergoing their thousands of torments (Ah! what misery!) he came to the four assemblies in the Jeta Grove and recounted it all at length. "Thus," said he, "do the beings in the eight great hells and the sixteen secondary hells endure thousands of different torments. Therefore, one must strive after knowledge, win it, be enlightened, be fully enlightened, do good, and live the holy life. And in this world no sinful act must be committed."

The many thousands of devas and men were seized with wonder when they heard the elder Mahā-Maudgalyāyana speaking so.(9) Such is a summary description of hell. Now I shall go on to describe it in detail.

The Enlightened One himself looked on this world and the world beyond, on the coming and going of men, on the round of passing away and coming to be.

The Seer himself reflects upon and understands the peculiar fruition of acts which is bound up with the nature of man,[1] *and the place wherein they come to fruition.*

Gotama, the Exalted One, the seer with clear insight into all things, has in his understanding named the eight hells, Sañjīva, Kālasūtra, Sanghāta, the two Rauravas, Mahāvīci, Tapana and Pratāpana.

Thus are these eight hells named. Hard are they to traverse, being strewn with the consequences of terrible deeds. Each has its sixteen secondary hells.

They have four corners[2] *and four gates. They are divided up and well laid out in squares. They are a hundred* yojanas *high, a hundred square.*

[1] Literally "joined to beings"—*prāṇasaṃśritā*.

[2] Reading *catu:karṇā* or *catu:koṇā* for *catu:kalā* of the text. The Pali equivalent is *catukaṇṇo* (*A.* 1. 142; *M.* 3. 167).

They are encircled by a wall of iron, with a vault of iron above. The floor is of hot and glowing iron.

Habitations hard to dwell in are they, being everywhere expanses of iron boards,[1] *hair-raising, fearful, terrible, and full of woe.*

(10)*All the fearful hells are filled with hundreds of flames, each of which spreads its glow abroad a hundred* yojanas.

Here the many fearsome beings, the great sinners, burn a long time, even for hundreds of years.

With scourges of iron the ruthless warders of hell mercilessly beat those who have sinned.

These I shall tell of in well-ordered words. Give ear and attentively hear me as I speak.

In the Sañjīva hell beings hang with their feet up and their heads down, and are trimmed with axes and knives.

Carried away by frenzy of anger they fight among themselves, using their own sharp claws of iron.

Sharp knives also grow from their hands, and with them these utterly demented beings rend one another.

Though their bodies collapse under the cold wind that blows on them, yet all their limbs are afire as they reap the fruit of their past deeds.[2]

Thus has the Master, the Tathāgata, understanding its true nature, called this hell Sañjīva, a bourne of evil deeds.

(11)*Released from Sañjīva they plunge into Kukkula. Foregathering there they are tortured for a long stretch of time.*

There, in Kukkula, they run about in flames for many a yojana, *and suffer great misery.*

Released from Kukkula these broken[3] *men plunge into Kuṇapa, a vast expanse spreading far and wide.*

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[1] *Āsphārā* is here translated " expanses " on the analogy of the use of *pharitvā* in the corresponding Pali gāthās: *Samantā yojanasatam pharitvā tiṭṭhati sabbadā ti* (l.c). Compare, also, Sanskrit *sphārita*, " swollen out," " spread out," *etc.*, from *sphārā* (2) (see Monier-Williams, *s.v.*) *Phāla* is to be equated with Pali *phāla* (2) " an iron board," " slab," *etc.*, rather than with Vedic *phāla* " ploughshare." This seems to give a more natural sense than the version proposed by Senart, "toujours déchirés (labourés) par des socs de fer."

[2] The text here is very uncertain.

[3] *Vidhvaṃsita.*

There, asses[1], *swarthy brutes, with mouths breathing fierce fire, rend their skin and devour and feed on their flesh and blood.*

When they have passed out of Kuṇapa they catch sight of pleasant trees, and in quest of relief they make for the shelter of their verdant foliage.

But there, hawks and vultures and ravens, with beaks of iron drive them from under a green tree, and devour their torn and gory limbs.

And when they have been devoured until their bones alone are left, their skin and flesh and blood grow once more.

In their terror they run away, and deeming there was refuge where there was none, come all stricken to the terrible forest where the leaves are swords.

(12)*When they have escaped from the sword-leafed forest, wounded, racked, and steeped in blood, they go to the river Vaitaraṇī.*

There they dive into the river's hot and caustic water, which pierces all of their tortured limbs.

Then Yama's[2] *myrmidons gaff*[3] *them with hooks of iron, fling them on the river bank and give them pellets of iron to eat.*

They give them molten red copper to drink, which passes through their inwards down to their lower parts.

Evil-doers, those who follow the wrong way and do not perform the right deed, go down into these hells.

Those who wholly eschew sinful deeds, those whose conduct is wholly virtuous do not pass to the bourne of ill.

Therefore the qualities of deeds are of two kinds, good and bad.

Avoiding the bad, one should practise the good and fair.

In the Kālasūtra hell beings are driven from under a verdant tree and their limbs are hacked[1] *with hatchets and axes.*

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[1] *Kharā*, so translated to get a parallelism with the "birds" of line 11, p. 11, and the "dogs" of line 1, p. 15. (The translator owes this suggestion to Prof. H. W. Bailey.)

[2] Yama, the god of the dead; in Vedic mythology presiding over the departed fathers in heaven, but in classical Sanskrit supervising the torments of the damned in hell.

[3] Literally "pierce," *viddhitvā*, *viddh* being, according to Senart, "un nouveau thème de la racine *vyadh*."

[4] Literally "sawn." *Sūtrayitvāna*, which seems to mean properly "lashed" or "bound" with the *kālasūtra*, "the measuring line of black wire" (see note p. 6), preparatory to being sawn.

Then plates of iron heated a long time are put round their bodies, burning and torturing them.

(13)*When they have been burnt and tortured in this way, these plates are taken off, which causes the skin and flesh to come off in shreds and the blood to flow.*

Then the warders of hell rend them from heel to neck, and many do they dash against one another in the hell Kālasūtra.

After this they fling them into the smoking hell of terrible darkling Sanghāta, where no unscathed[1] *men are seen.*

There they run about in their milliards[2] *over many a* yojana, *assailing one another with leaden thongs.*

Thus has the Master, the Tathāgata, understanding its true nature named this hell Kālasūtra, a bourne of evil-doers.

From the surface of the hell Sanghāta mountains rise up on both sides.[3] *In between these mountains beings are herded in immense numbers.*[4]

And these stony mountains come together through the working of men's karma, and crush many beings like so many fire-brands.

Blood flows in streams from their crushed bodies, and from this confused pile of crushed bodies issue rivers of pus.

(14)*Merciless creatures beat them up in iron tubs with iron-tipped pestles, even for many a hundred years.*

Thus has the Master, the Tathāgata, understanding its true nature, named this hell Sanghāta, a bourne of evil-doers.

Large numbers are imprisoned in the hell Raurava, which is ablaze with fire, and make a terrible lamentation.

When the fire is put out they become silent. When it flames up again, they resume their loud cries.

Another hell also has been called Raurava, horrible, shoreless, abysmal, and impassable.

There the ruthless warders of hell with scourges in their

[1] *Vārtā* for *vārttā*, with the verb *driṣyati* sing. for plural (as often happens in this text). Or read *vārto*.

[2] *Paramantraśa:* Senart refers to Schiefner, *Mélanges Asiatiques*, IV, p. 639.

[3] Reading *ubhato* = *ubhayata:* for *mahatā*, as Senart suggests.

[4] *Mṛigavaśa:* Senart again refers to Schiefner, *op. cit.*, p. 637 note.

hands mercilessly strike them, even for many a hundred years.

Thus has the Master, the Tathāgata, understanding its true nature, named this hell Raurava, a bourne of evil-doers.

In the hell Tapana red-hot iron is prepared for them, and the wretched beings, burning like firebrands, cry out.

Imprisoned here are many men of wicked conduct. Evil-doers who have sinned are here roasted.

(15)*As soon as they are done and rendered inert many dogs, great-bodied flesh-eaters, devour them.*

When they are devoured until their bones alone are left, their skin and flesh and blood grow again.

Thus has the Master, the Tathāgata, understanding its true nature, named this hell Tapana, a bourne of evil-doers.

In the hell Pratāpana there are creatures armed with sharp pikes, and having jaws of iron. There is a fearful mountain, one great solid mass of fire.

Here many people of sinful conduct are confined, and these evil-doers leap like fishes stranded on the sand.

Thus has the Master, the Tathāgata, understanding its true nature, named this hell Pratāpana, a bourne of evil-doers.

Next, the hell Avīci, everywhere searing, evil, immense, red-hot, full of dense flames.

On all sides, above, below and athwart, the hell Avīci is like masses of iron heated in fire.

The bodies of the denizens of this hell are like fire.(16) *They realise the stability of karma and that there is no escape for them.*

Seeing the gate open they rush to it, thinking that perhaps there is escape this way for them as they seek release.

But as their sinful karma has not borne all its fruit, through the effect of this karma they do not win a way out of hell.

Thus has the Master, the Tathāgata, understanding its true nature, named this hell Avīci, a bourne of evil-doers.

The hell named Sañjīva

As the maturing of what karma are beings reborn there? Those who in this world are enemies and rivals, are vindictive,

are haters of their fields, houses or tilth[1], are warring kings, thieves, or soldiers, and those who die nursing hostile thoughts of one another, have rebirth in this hell as the maturing of such karma. But this is no more than the principal cause of rebirth in this hell. Those reborn here reap the fruit of still other wicked and sinful deeds.

As the maturing of what karma are they cut up? Those who in this world have cut up living creatures with knife, axe or hatchet, are themselves cut up as the maturing of such karma.

As the maturing of what karma does the cold wind blow on them? (**17**) Those who in this world scatter grain as bait for jackals, buffaloes, hogs and wild cocks, saying, "when they are fattened we shall kill them for their flesh," [are blown upon by the cold wind][2] as the maturing of such karma.[3]

[As the maturing of what karma][4] do nails or rods of iron grow on their hands? Since in this world they have put weapons of war in men's hands, urging them with these weapons to smite such and such a village, city, town,[5] man, or beast, so, as the maturing of such karma, iron rods and daggers grow on their hands.

Why is this hell called Sañjīva? To the denizens of this hell the thought occurs, "We shall survive only to experience Kālasūtra."[6] That is why this hell is called Sañjīva.

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[1] *Vapra.* Like Pali *vappa*, explained as "sown ground," occurring beside *kṣetra*, "field" and *vastu*, "house-property" (Prof. H. W. Bailey in a communicated note).

[2] There are lacunae here, or rather one continuous lacuna.

[3] The fitting of the punishment to the crime is suggested, of course, by the similarity of the roots of *upavāyati*, "blows on," and *nivāpa*, "fodder," "bait," *viz. vā*, "to blow" and *vap*, "to scatter."

[4] There are lacunae here, or rather one continuous lacuna.

[5] The order here is irregular; they are usually, especially in Pali texts, given in the ascending order of their size: *grāma* (*gāma*), "village," *nigama*, "market-town," and *nagara*, "(fortified) town."

[6] Literally, "Survival (*sañjīvaṃ*) is existence in Kālasūtra" (*Kālasūtrabhūtikaṃ*). This is obviously an anomalous way of explaining the meaning of the word. The *Commentary* at *J.* 5. 270 explains the name in a very straightforward fashion: *nirayapālehi . . . khaṇḍākhaṇḍikaṃ chinnā nerayikasattā punappuna sañjīvanti ettha 'ti Sañjīvo*, that is, "though cut to pieces by the warders of hell, the inmates of this hell survive again and again. Hence the name Sañjīva." *Saṃjīv* actually expresses the idea of "*re*viving" dead persons. Senart translates, "C'est par l'enchaînement inéluctable des destinées que l'on renaît dans le Samjīva. C'est pour cela que cet enfer a reçu le nom de Saṁjīva." But this would seem to be an explanation, and a very conjectural one, of the name Kālasūtra, rather than of Sañjīva.

The hell named Kālasūtra.

This hell, *and so on up to* "armed" and "aflame." Here the warders of hell drive its inmates from under a verdant tree, and by means of the measuring rule of black wire[1] cut them into eight, six, or four parts. They go on to cleave the bodies of some from heel to neck, like a sugar-cane. They go on to cleave the bodies of others from neck to heel, like a sugar-cane. In this state the inmates suffer agonies beyond measure, but they do not die as long as their evil karma is not exhausted.

(18) As a maturing of what karma are beings reborn here? Those who in this world cause slaves to be shackled with fetters[2] and chains and force them to work, ordering the hands and feet of many to be pierced, and the nose, flesh, sinews, arms and back of many others to be slit five times or ten, are reborn here as the maturing of such karma.

But this, again, is no more than a principal cause of rebirth here. Those reborn here reap the fruit of still other wicked and sinful deeds. The warders of this hell beat and jeer at the inmates, who implore them, saying, "Kill us."[3] In their many thousands these creatures stand benumbed with terror, as though bereft of life. Then in front of Yama's myrmidons thousands of pieces of burning, flaming and blazing cloth fly through the air, and as they come near them the denizens of hell cry out, "Lo, they are on us." The pieces of cloth come on and envelope the limbs of each one of them, burning their outer and inner skins, their flesh and their sinews, so

[1]*Kālasūtra*, see p. 6.

[2] Senart prints *hastinigaḍādibhi*: "with chains used for elephants," but, as Prof. H. W. Bailey suggests in a communicated note, the MS. reading *haḍi* should be retained here. The latter word occurs in *Divy*. 365 and 435 in the sense of "fetters."

[3] *Subhassū*, an admittedly doubtful conjecture of Senart's, which is adopted in the translation with much misgiving, especially as it involves the insertion of the words "who implore them." The MSS. are practically all agreed in having *śaṭhaṃsūti*(*kā*), which might be interpreted as "offspring of rogues." We could then render, "they (*sc.* the warders of hell) called them rogues." The slight break in syntactical sequence involved in making *nirayapālā* (understood) nominative when it is in the instrumental case in the first half of the sentence is a peculiarity fairly common in the language of the *Mahāvastu*. The intrusion of the *m* between the two elements of the compound *śaṭhaṃsūti*(*ka*) is, of course, a difficulty, although there are several examples, both in Pali and in Buddhist Sanskrit, of the intrusion of this letter, to emphasise hiatus, as it were, and obviate the normal sandhi, e.g. *adukkhāsukhamupekṣa* (*Lal. Vist.* 439. 12). *See* Senart's note on p. 395.

that the whole of them is on fire. Thus their torn skin and their flesh and blood are burnt away. In this state they suffer agonies beyond measure, but they do not die as long as their evil karma is not worked out to its end.

Again, this is only a principal cause of rebirth there. Those reborn there reap the fruit of still other wicked(**19**) and sinful deeds. As a maturing of what karma are beings reborn there? Those who in this world have repeatedly caused human beings to be slain, and those mendicants, eunuchs, criminals and sinners who become recluses and usurp the monk's robe and girdle, have rebirth here as a maturing of such karma.

Again, this is only a principal cause of rebirth there, for those reborn there reap the fruit of still other wicked and sinful deeds. Some have their skin torn into shreds from heel to neck, others from neck to heel, and others from neck to hip. In this state they suffer agonies beyond measure.

As a maturing of what karma are beings reborn there? Those who in this world cause the "hay-band" and the "bark-robe[1]" to be prepared are reborn there as a maturing of such karma.

The volume of blinding smoke that is everywhere in this hell, acrid,(**20**) pungent and terrifying, pierces outer and inner skin, flesh, sinew and bone, penetrates the very marrow of bones. All bodies become numbed and exhausted. Then they reel about for many a hundred *yojanas*, trampling on one another and stumbling. In this state they suffer agonies beyond measure, but they do not die as long as their evil karma is not worked out to the end.

As a maturing of what karma are beings reborn here? Those who in this world smoke the openings of the dens, burrows, enclosures, and traps of *sāhikas*,[2] monkeys, rats, and cats, and the holes of serpents, guarding the exits, or

[1] It is a simple emendation to change *erakavārṣika* and *cīrakavārṣika* of Senart's text into *erakavartika* and *cīrakavāsika* respectively, especially as some of the MSS. actually have the latter word. The reference is then to two of the methods of torture enumerated at *M*. 1. 87; *A*. 1. 47, and *Miln*. 197. The above translation of these terms is that of Lord Chalmers in *Further Dialogues* 1. p. 62. Woodward in *Gradual Sayings*, 1. p. 43, has "hay-twist" and "bark-dress." Senart's reading would make the sin to consist in making garments for the rainy season from grass or the bark of trees.

[2] An unknown animal.

who suffocate bees with smoke, have rebirth there as the maturing of such karma.

Again, beings are reborn there as a maturing of various other wicked and sinful deeds, for what has just been said is only a principal cause of rebirth there. Those reborn there, *and so on.*

Why is this hell called Kālasūtra ? The warders of this hell drive the denizens from under a verdant tree and cut them by means of the measuring line of black wire.[1] That is why this hell is named Kālasūtra, namely from what is done there.[2]

(21) *The hell named Sanghāta*

This hell is situated between two mountains, is made of fiery, flaming and blazing iron, and is several hundred *yojanas* in extent. The armed warders of this hell show the way to the doomed, who in terror enter in between the mountains. In front of them fire appears, and in their terror they turn back. But behind them, too, fire appears, and the mountains converge to meet each other, and as they do so the doomed shout, "Look at the mountains coming on us! See them come!" The mountains meet and crush them as so much sugar-cane.

Again, the mountains rise up into the air, and the doomed pass beneath them. When many thousands have done so, the mountains subside so that they are crushed as sugar-cane is crushed, and their blood flows in streams. They are left heaps of bone refuse, without flesh, but held together by their sinews. In this state they suffer agonies, but they do not die as long as their evil karma is not worked out to the end.

As a maturing of what karma are beings reborn there ? Those who in this world cause worms to be crushed, or the earth to be dug up, or, just as happens to beings[3] in the sword-leafed forest, who flog living creatures with clubs having the

[1] See above pp. 6, 11.

[2] Or, "according as it is to be described," *yathākartavyo*. *Kartavya* is often used to refer to words that are to be supplied as understood.

[3] *Devānām* should obviously be changed to *sattvānām* (? *sattvāni*) for it is impossible to imagine the devas possessing, or dwelling in, a sword-leafed forest.

leaves still on them, or who crush with their finger-nails nits, lice, and *sānkuśas*,[1] are reborn there as a maturing of this karma.

This, again, is only a principal cause of rebirth there.(22) Those reborn there reap the fruit of still other sinful and wicked deeds. They are kept a heap of bones for five hundred years in iron pots that burn, blaze and flame, and under a veritable shower[2] of burning, blazing and flaming iron pestles. In this state they undergo intense sufferings.

As a maturing of what karma are beings reborn there? Those who in this world stab living creatures with daggers, or fell them with bludgeons, and those who destroy living creatures by grinding them in mortars with red-hot pestles, are reborn there as a maturing of this karma.

Why is this hell called Sanghāta? People in this hell endure being herded together.[3] That is why this hell is called Sanghāta. [*The hell named Raurava* . . .][4]

Thousands of beings in this hell are confined each in a narrow cell, where they are denied the exercise of the four postures.[5] Fire blazes in their hands. While the fire burns they cry out. As often as this fire goes out they become silent. In this state they suffer agonies beyond measure.

As a maturing of what karma are beings reborn there? Those who in this world enslave beings who are without protection or refuge, those who set houses(23) and forests on fire, those who light a fire at the openings of the dens, burrows, enclosures, and traps of *sāhikas*,[6] monkeys, rats, cats, and the holes of serpents, guarding the exits; those who destroy bees with the betel-leaf[7] or with fire, have rebirth there as a maturing of such karma. This again is only a principal cause of rebirth there. Those reborn there reap the fruit of still other wicked and sinful deeds. [ ][8]

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[1] An unknown insect, literally, if, that is, the reading is correct, "having a goad or sting."

[2] Literally "as in a shower of iron," *ayopāte yathā*.

[3] *I.e.* from *sam-han*, "to beat together," *etc.*

[4] Lacuna.

[5] *Īryāpatha*, Pali *iriyāpatha*. The four were, walking, standing, sitting, lying-down. Or, perhaps, *chinnīryāpathā* here simply means crippled, as in *V*. I. 91.

[6] See above p. 16.

[7] Read *tāmbūlena* for *tāmbūlāni*, that is, this pungent leaf is used to "smoke out" the bees.

[8] Lacuna.

The hell named Mahā-Raurava

This hell is a mass of burning, blazing and flaming iron, and is many a hundred *yojanas* in extent. The warders of this hell, with hammers in their hands, point the way to the doomed. In terror some of these start running, others try to escape, others do not try to escape. Some retreat wheresoever they can, others do not retreat. Others again go along obediently as well as they can. Then the warders of hell ask them, "why, now, do you go along just because we bade you?" And they assail them so that they are broken and shattered like curd-pots. Those who run, as well as those who do not, in this state suffer racking and acute pains.

As a maturing of what karma are beings reborn there? Those who in this world(24) have prisons made from which the light of moon and sun is shut out, and put men in them, leaving them there with the words, "Here you shall not see the moon and sun," have rebirth there as a maturing of such karma.

As a maturing of what karma are the heads of these beings crushed? Those who in this world have crushed the heads of living creatures such as snakes, centipedes, and scorpions, have their own heads crushed as the maturing of such karma.

Why is this hell called Raurava? In this hell the inmates cry "Mother, father!" but they cannot find their parents. Hence it is named Raurava.[1]

The hell Tapana

Many thousands of beings are confined here. (Vultures) drive them from under a verdant tree and devour them. When they have lost their flesh and are become mere skeletons held together by sinews, they swoon in their agony and collapse. But in order that their karma come to maturity, a cool wind blows on them, and their skin, flesh and blood grow again. When they are in this condition the warders of hell drive them in before them.

As a maturing of what karma are beings reborn there? Those who in this world build doorless enclosures with slippery

[1] *I.e.*, this word is connected with the root *ru* or *rud*, "to cry."

and unscaleable[1] walls, where living beings are cut up with hunting knives, have rebirth there as a maturing of such karma.

As a maturing of what karma are beings devoured there? Those who in this world have caused living beings to be devoured by lions, tigers, panthers, bears and(25) hyenas are themselves devoured as a maturing of such karma.

As a maturing of what karma does a cool wind blow on them? Those who in this world scatter grain as bait for deer, buffaloes, hogs and wild cocks, saying, "We shall kill them for their fat flesh," are blown on by the cool wind as a maturing of such karma.[2]

Why is this hell called Tapana? The denizens of it are burnt, hence the name Tapana[3] for this hell, which is surrounded on all sides by spits of red-hot iron. There the denizens are impaled and roasted, some on one-pronged spits, others on two-pronged spits, *and so on up to ten.* When one side is roasted, the other side is exposed. Indeed, some of them, as a maturing of particularly wicked and sinful deeds, turn round of their own accord. In this state they suffer agonies beyond measure.

As a maturing of what karma are beings reborn there? Those who in this world have caused living sheep to be fixed on a spit have rebirth there as a maturing of such karma. This again is only a principal cause of rebirth there. Those reborn there reap the fruit of yet other sinful and wicked deeds.

[*The hell named Avīci*][4]

Why is Avīci so called? Flames from its eastern walls beat against the western(26); from the western wall they

[1] The reading in the text is *listāpattiyāyam*, which Senart prints with a question mark, and for which he cannot make a satisfactory restitution. The first part of this compound, however, seems certainly a mistake for *lipta*, a reading preserved by one MS; that is, the walls were "smeared" (*lip*) or allowed to become wet to make them slippery. *Cf. M.* 1. 86, *addāvalepanā upakāriyo*, "slippery walls," literally, "walls smeared with moisture." The final part of the compound probably conceals *apatha* or *apathin*, "pathless."

[2] See above p. 14, footnote 3.

[3] From *tap*, "to be hot," "to burn."

[4] There is a lacuna in the text here, representing the heading and introductory matter of the section.

beat against the eastern. Flames from the southern wall beat against the northern; from the northern wall they beat against the southern. Flames leaping up from the ground beat against the roof, and from the roof they beat against the ground. The whole of this hell is beset with flames, and the many thousands denizens of it burn fiercely[1] like firewood. In this state they suffer painful, violent, severe and bitter agonies, but they do not die until their evil karma is worked out to the end. Thus, their suffering is determined in accordance with[2] what they have stored up by their conduct[3] in the past when they lived as humans.

Again, this is only a principal cause of rebirth there. Beings reborn there reap the fruit of yet other sinful and wicked deeds.

As a maturing of what karma are beings reborn there? Those who kill their mother or father, or an Arhan, or show malevolence to a Tathāgata or shed his blood, have rebirth there as a maturing of all such wrong courses of conduct.

Beings are also reborn there as a maturing of various other sinful and wicked deeds.

This hell is called Avīci for this reason. The denizens of it suffer bitter, violent, and severe agonies, nor, as in the other hells do the warders set the terror-stricken denizens to various tasks, nor does a cool wind blow here as in the other places. Here, then, in the great hell Avīci they suffer painful, violent, severe and bitter agonies. That is why this great hell is named Avīci.[4]

(27)Here ends the *sūtra*[5] of the *Mahāvastu-Avadāna* called the "Chapter[6] on Hells."

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[1] Literally "brilliantly," *vicitram*. Senart, however, takes the word to mean here "de différentes façons," *i.e.* "burning on all sides."

[2] *Abhisamādayitvā*, *cf.* Pali *samādaya* and *samādayitvā* in the same sense.

[3] *Abhisamskṛitam*, *cf.* Pali *abhisankhāra* and *sankhāra*.

[4] *I.e.*, it is so called because of the unintermittent nature of its torments. *Cf. Pali Dict.*, *s.v. avīci* "[Bsk. *avīci*, *a* + *vīci* (?) "no intermission" or "no pleasure (?)," unknown, but very likely popular etymology]."

[5] Pali *sutta*.

[6] *Parivartaka*.

VISITS TO OTHER WORLDS

The venerable Mahā-Maudgalyāyana often went on a visit to the world of the brutes, and saw beings reborn among the brutes suffering miseries of various kinds.

The venerable elder Kolita[1] as he went journeying among the brutes, saw among them beings in extreme misery, who were glad[2] to have dried or fresh grass to eat, and cold or warm water to drink. They knew neither mother nor father, neither brother nor sister, neither teacher nor teacher's pupil,[3] neither friend nor kinsman. They devoured one another and drank one another's blood. They slew and strangled one another. From darkness they passed into darkness, from woe into woe, from evil plight into evil plight, from ruin into ruin. They suffered thousands of divers miseries, and in their brute state it was with difficulty that they survived them.

When he had seen this great wretchedness among the brutes, Maudgalyāyana came to the Jeta Grove and described it at length to the four great assemblies. "Thus," said he, do beings reborn among the brutes endure thousands of divers woes, and it is with difficulty that in their brute state they survive. Therefore we should strive after knowledge, win it,(**28**) be enlightened, be fully enlightened and live the holy life, and we should not commit any sin in this world. Thus I declare."

The venerable Mahā-Maudgalyāyana often went on a visit to the world of the ghosts. There he saw beings reborn in the ghost-world suffering thousands of divers miseries.

The venerable elder Kolita as he went his way among the ghosts, saw the ghosts in the ghost-world in extreme misery. Though their bodies are big, their mouths are the size of a needle's eye, and their throats are constricted, so that, although they are always eating, they are never satisfied. Moreover, through their failure to perform meritorious deeds,

[1] See p. 6, footnote 2.
[2] Or, eat "cheerfully," *mukhullocakam*, which Senart equates with Pali *mukhullokaka* (Pali Dict., *mukhullokika*, "flattering").
[3] *Gurusthāyin*, the equivalent of Pali (*ācariya-*)*antevāsika* or *antevāsin*.

whereby they are utterly without reward, they are ill-favoured of complexion, aspect, smell, and form, and are vile and repulsive, naked, without clothes. When they are hungry and thirsty, they drink indiscriminately excrement, urine, phlegm, mucus, pus and blood.

As a maturing of their karma a wind blows and whispers " Here is something to drink ! Here is something to drink ! Here is boiled rice ! Here is rice-gruel ! " When they hear this whisper the ghosts go leaping across rivers and mountains, shouting, " Now will we eat, now will we feed, now will we drink." But those who have thus built up a hope, are immediately robbed of it, for the wind whispers to them, " There is none ! There is none ! " Hearing this the ghosts fall prostrate in despair.

A female ghost recites a verse :

For five hundred years[1] *have I heard this cry, " See, how hard it is to get aught to drink in the world of ghosts."*

(29)Another female ghost recites a verse :

For five hundred years have I heard this cry, " See, how hard it is to get boiled rice in the world of ghosts."

Another female ghost recites a verse :

For five hundred years have I heard this cry, " See how hard it is to get rice-gruel in the world of ghosts."

Another female ghost recites a verse :

Thirsty they run to a stream, but its channel is empty.[2] *Scorched, they run to the shade, but when they come there they find blazing sunshine.*

Another female ghost recites a verse :

An ill life have we spent, since, when we could, we did

[1] Literally " This cry of five-hundred years has been heard (read *śruto* with one MS. foı *śrutaṃ* of the text, to agree with *ghoṣo*) by me." Senart, however, assumes " un emploi très libre du génitif " and translates " au bout de cinq cent ans."

[2] Literally " it is empty," reading *riktakā* or *riktatā*, " empty," for *sikatā* of the text, which is a conjecture of Senart's. The former is the reading of the MSS., and is also identical with the *rittakā* of the corresponding Pali *gāthā* in *Pv.* 3. 6, 5.

not give. When the means were at hand, we did not light a lamp for the self.[1]

When Maudgalyāyana had seen this great wretchedness in the world of the ghosts, he came to the Jeta Grove, and in one discourse revealed it in detail to the great four assemblies. "Thus" said he, "do the beings reborn in the ghost-world suffer thousands of divers woes. Therefore we ought to strive after knowledge, win it, be enlightened, be fully enlightened, do the virtuous deed, live the holy life, and commit no sin in this world. Thus I declare."

When they heard the elder, several thousands of devas and men attained immortality.

(30) The venerable Mahā-Maudgalyāyana often went on a visit to the Asuras.[2] In their citadel he saw Asuras of gigantic size, of frightful aspect and of great malevolence, beings who at death had fallen down in ruin to the world of the Asuras. The venerable elder Kolita as he went on his way among the Asuras, saw five classes of Asuras greatly tormented by their envy of the Suras.[3]

This is the burden of their thought: "We are down below,

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[1] This *gāthā* is obviously identical with that in *Pv.* 4. 15, 3. Cf. *J.* 3. 47. (I owe this latter reference to Dr. W. Stede.) The text has, therefore, been emended in order to make the language and sense of it to conform with the Pali. Senart's text is:

Dhigjīvitaṃ ājīviṣu yamantasmiṃ nadāmatha
vidyamāneṣu bhogeṣu pradīpam na karotha va.

The Peta-vatthu has:

Dujjīvitaṃ jīvamha ye sante na dadamhase
santesu deyyadhammesu dīpam nākamha attano.

The Mahāvastu text as emended for the translation given above is:

Dujjīvitaṃ ajīviṣma yaṃ santasmiṃ nadāmatha
vidyamāneṣu bhogeṣu dīpam nākarṣma ātmano.

Santasmiṃ, loc. sing. (here absolute = "when there was [something]") has an inflection common in Buddhist Sanskrit. *Nadāmatha*, (with Senart) is for *na* + *adāmatha*, from *dadāti*, with a first plural ending for which Senart believes there is a parallel elsewhere in the *Mahāvastu*. (See his note.) It would be simpler, of course, to read *nadāma ca* or *vā*, but the MSS. seem to be agreed on the ending *-tha*.

To show the necessity of some such emendation as that proposed, Senart's translation of the text adopted by him is here given—"Fie de la vie de mendiants! (Cette nourriture) qui est tout près, nous n'en profitons pas. Du moins ne nous faites pas voir ces jouissances qui sont (sous notre main) (mais qui nous demeurent inaccessibles)". So many interpolations in translating do not suggest a very successful attempt at emendation.

[2] The Giants or Titans of Indian mythology; in Buddhist literature they are classed as inferior devas. Rebirth as an Asura was considered one of the four unhappy births. Cf. note p. 36.

[3] See p. 56.

the devas are up above." Hence they are aggrieved, jealous, brimming over with rage, fury, and desperation, nor do they conceal it. Equipping a mighty force of four arms, namely, fighters on elephants, cavalry, charioteers, and infantry, they break up the ranks of the devas, namely, the Karoṭapāṇi Yakṣas, the Mālādhāra Yakṣas, and the Sadāmatta Yakṣas.[1]

Then when they have broken these ranks they join battle with the Trāyastriṃśa[2] devas, but after they have betrayed their evil disposition towards the Trāyastriṃśa devas, who are meritorious and powerful, the Asuras, after the dissolution of the body at death, are reborn in woe, evil plight, ruin, in hell.

When Mahā-Maudgalyāyana had seen the great misery of the Asuras, he came to the Jeta Grove and described it in detail to the four assemblies. "Thus," said he, "do beings in Mahāsamudra, the abode of the Asuras, suffer manifold miseries. Therefore, we ought to strive after knowledge, win it, be enlightened, be fully enlightened, live the holy life and commit no sin in this world. Thus I declare."

When they heard the elder, many thousands of devas and men won immortality.

The venerable Mahā-Maudgalyāyana often went on a visit to the Cāturmahārājika[3] devas.

There he sees the Cāturmahārājika devas who are virtuous, mighty, long-lived, beautiful, enjoying great well-being.**(31)** They have the devas' span of life, their bliss, their sway, their retinue, and their form, voice, smell, taste, touch, garments and ornaments. The ornaments they wear in front are seen from behind, those they wear behind are seen from the front.

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[1] The Yakṣas were, roughly speaking, the spirits that, in popular belief, haunted the woodland and watery depths. These three classes of Yakṣas supported the devas in their fight with the Asuras. The first are evidently the *Karoṭi* of the Pali texts, but the other two do not seem to be named elsewhere.

[2] Pali *Tāvatiṃsa*, the second of the six deva-worlds, and the home of the "Thirty-three devas," ruled by Śakra or Indra. The number thirty-three is conventional, and the Commentaries say that this heaven was so named after Magha, a previous birth of Śakra, and his thirty-two companions who were reborn there. (See *D.P.N.*)

[3] Pali *Cātummahārājika*, the name of the devas in the lowest of the six heavens, who were regarded as the retinue of the "Four Great Kings" dwelling there as guardians of the four quarters. The Pali names of these four kings are Dhataraṭṭha, Virūḷhaka, Virūpakkha and Vessavaṇa.

They cast no shadows. They are self-luminous. They travel through the air, going wheresoever they wish. In the bejewelled mansions[1] of the devas they have plenty of food, abundant meat and drink. They are endowed and gifted with the five modes of sensual pleasure, and disport, enjoy and amuse themselves.

But the elder saw this prosperity end in adversity. For when the self-luminous ones pass away from the realm of the Cāturmahārājika devas, they are reborn in hell and in the world of brutes, ghosts, or Asuras. When he had seen this evil vicissitude of the Cāturmahārājika devas, the elder exclaimed, " Ah, what a hard lot ! " And he came to the Jeta Grove where he described it at length to the four assemblies. " Thus," said he, " are beings reborn among the Cāturmahārājika devas as a maturing of their good karma. There they enjoy the bliss of devas. But when they pass away thence they are reborn in hell, or as brutes, ghosts and Asuras. Of a truth, the devas are transient, unstable and subject to change. Therefore we should strive after knowledge, win it, be enlightened, be fully enlightened, perform the right deed, live the holy life, and commit no sin in this world. Thus I declare."

When they had heard the elder, many thousands of beings, devas and men, won immortality.

The venerable Mahā-Maudgalyāyana often went on a visit to the Trāyastriṃśa[2] devas.

There he sees the Trāyastriṃśa devas, who are virtuous, mighty, long-lived, strong, and enjoying great well-being.**(32)** They have the devas' span of life, their strength, their bliss, their sway, their retinue, and the forms of the devas, their voice, smell, taste, touch, their garments and their ornaments, and their sensual pleasures. They are self-luminous, travel through the air, live in happiness, and go wheresoever they wish. They have plenty of food, abundant meat and drink. In the bejewelled mansions of the devas, in the eight great

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[1] *Vimāna*, in late Buddhist thought this was equivalent to heaven or paradise in so far as it was a place of almost magic splendour. For references to the literature describing the Buddhist happy other-world, see *Pali Dictionary*, s.v.

[2] See p. 25.

parks,[1] Vaijayanta, Nandāpuṣkariṇī, Pāripātrakovidāra, Mahāvana, Pāruṣyaka, Citraratha, Nandana, and Miśrakāvana, and in other bejewelled mansions, endowed and gifted with the five modes of sensual pleasure, they disport, enjoy and amuse themselves. Śakra, too, lord of the devas, attended by eight thousand Apsarases,[2] and endowed and gifted with the devas' five modes of sensual pleasure, disports, enjoys and amuses himself in his palace Vaijayanta.

The elder Maudgalyāyana saw all this prosperity of the Trāyastriṃśa devas, their deva bliss, their fair deva city, the seven-jewelled splendour of the fair deva city, and the holy assembly hall of the devas all radiant with the sparkle of beryl and extending a thousand *yojanas*. There the Trāyastriṃśa devas and Śakra, the lord of the devas, abide and dwell together immersed in the affairs of devas, and are seen from outside in the assembly hall of the devas. The Trāyastriṃśa devas, too, as they dwell in their sacred assembly-hall look out on the whole of the fair deva city.

When he had seen all this prosperity of the Trāyastriṃśa devas, the elder came to the Jeta Grove and described it at length to the four assemblies. "Thus," said he, "do beings who are reborn among the Trāyastriṃśa devas, as a maturing of their good karma, attain the bliss of devas. But this bliss, also, is impermanent, unstable, and liable to change. For when they pass away from that state these beings are reborn in hell and as brutes and ghosts. Therefore one must strive after knowledge, win it,(33) be enlightened, be fully enlightened, perform the right deed, live the holy life, and commit no sin in this world. Thus I declare."

The venerable Mahā-Maudgalyāyana often went on visits

[1] In the tradition only the last four (in Pali—Phārusaka, Cittalatāvana, Nandana and Missakāvana) are, properly speaking, gardens or parks. Vaijayanta is the name of Śakra's palace, as immediately below. *Pāripātra* (which Senart so prints, although two of the MSS. have *°yātre* and the usual Sanskrit is *pāriyātra*) is the Pali *pāricchattaka*, a tree which grew in the Nandanavana as the result of the *Koviḷāra* (*Kovidāra*) tree planted by Magha (see pp. 26*n*, 131*n*) outside the Sudhammāsāla. The compiler is obviously hazy about the tradition here, and, therefore, we are justified in taking the names of these two trees as providing the name of one park, although Senart prints them as two separate names, making *pāripātra* the second element in the compound name *Nandāpuṣkariṇīpāri°*. The name of the second park is then *Nandāpuṣkariṇī*, which, strictly speaking, is the lotus-pool in the Nandanavana.

[2] The nymphs of Indian mythology.

to the Yāma[1] devas, the Tuṣita[2] devas, the Nirmāṇarati[3] devas, the Paranirmitavaśavartin[4] devas, and the devas of the Brahmā worlds including the Śuddhāvāsa[5] devas. He saw the Śuddhāvāsa devas, how they are virtuous, mighty, long-lived, beautiful, and enjoying great well-being. They are self-luminous, travel through the air, have pleasant food, live happily, and go wheresoever they wish. They are free from passion. They are deva arhans who win release in the middle of their sojourn in heaven,[6] are not subject to return to this world,[7] and are free from all association with the ignorant and average worldling.[8]

When the elder had seen all this prosperity of the devas, he came to the Jeta Grove, and described it at length to the four assemblies. "Thus," said he, "do beings, as a maturing of their good karma, attain the bliss of devas among the devas. But this, too, is impermanent, and liable to sorrow and change.

> *The whole world is fraught with peril. The whole world is on fire; the whole world is ablaze. The whole world is quaking.*
>
> *But the dharma which the Buddhas preach for the attainment of the ultimate goal, and which is not practised by the average worldling,[9] is immovable and unshakeable.*

Therefore we must strive after knowledge, win it, be enlightened, be fully enlightened, perform the right deed, live the holy life, and commit no sin in this world. Thus I declare."

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[1] A class of devas ranking between the Trāyastriṃśa and the Tuṣita devas. The Commentaries explain the name as meaning "having attained divine bliss," or "freed from misery" or "governing devas" ($\sqrt{}$*yam*). They have also been taken to be the "devas of Yama's realm."

[2] See above p. 4.

[3] Devas inhabiting the fifth of the six deva-worlds. The name means "delighting in their own creations."

[4] Devas inhabiting the highest stage of the sensuous universe. Their name is interpreted as meaning "those who have power over the creations of others."

[5] Or, the devas of the "Pure Abodes," a name given to a group of Brahma-worlds consisting, in the Pali form of their names, of Avihā, Atappā, Sudassā, Sudassī, and Akaniṭṭhā.

[6] *Antarāparinirvāyī*, Pali *antarāparinibbāyin*, *e.g.*, *D.* 3. 237.

[7] *Anāvartikadharmā asmiṃ loke.*

[8] *Pṛithagjana* = Pali *puthujjana*, which obviously is derived from Pali *puthu* = *pṛithak*, "separate," "individual," but, in sense, is taken as though it were from *puthu* = *pṛithu*, "wide," "numerous," *i.e.* the "many-folk."

[9] The Pali parallel to these *gāthās* is to be found at *S.* 1. 133, following which, the confessedly difficult reading *sapṛithagjanasevitam* of Senart's text has been changed into *apṛithagjanasevitam*, "not by the worldling practised."

When they had heard the elder, many thousands of beings, devas and men, won immortality.

THE STORY OF ABHIYA

(34) The perfectly enlightened Exalted One, having fully realised the end he had striven for, stayed at Rājagṛiha[1] on Mount Gṛidhrakūṭa,[2] teaching devas and men, respected, esteemed, revered, honoured and venerated, and at the summit of his attainment and glory. He possessed the monk's requisites of robe, bowl, bed, seat and medicines for use in sickness. There, spotless like a lotus in water, he exhorted[3] those already possessing merit to acquire further merits, consolidated in fruition those partaking of it, and confirmed memories of past lives in those partaking of those memories. He gave devas and men a taste of ambrosial rain and led thousands of beings to win immortality. He raised them up from the great abyss, from the jungle of rebirth in an incessant round, without beginning or end,[4] of birth, old age and death; from the pitiless thickets[5] of rebirth in evil plights, in hells, and so forth. He established them in repose, steadfastness, calm, bliss, fearlessness and in Nirvana. He converted the people of Anga and Magadha, of Vajjī and Malla, Kāśi and Kośala, of Cetī, Vatsā[6] and Matsyā,[7] of Sūrasena, of Kuru and Pañcāla, of Śivi and Daśārṇa, of Aśvaka and Avanti.[8] He excelled in the knowledges, and was self-dependent.[9] He

[1] Pali *Rājagaha*, the capital city of Magadha.

[2] "Vulture Peak," one of the five hills around Rājagṛiha. Here is resumed the story interrupted at p. 4 by the account of Mahā-Maudgalyāyana's visits to the other worlds—only the compiler has forgotten that the *nidāna* was there located at Śrāvastī, not as here at Rājagṛiha, more than a hundred miles to the south-west.

[3] Literally, "to cause to enter," "establish in," "exhort to," *niveśayati*, like Pali *niveseti*.

[4] *Anavarāgra*, a Sanskritisation of Pali *anamatagga*. See *Pali Dictionary*.

[5] Read *gahana* for *grahaṇa*. [6] Pali *Vaṃsā*. [7] Pali *Macchā*.

[8] With this list of Central India peoples, compare similar and more or less identical lists at *A*. 1. 213; 4. 252, 256, 260; *D*. 2. 200; 3. 5.

[9] *Svayambhū*, see p. 3, where the word is translated "Self-becoming one." The term is translated "self-dependent" by Rhys Davids in *S.B.E.* 36, p. 16 (= *Miln*. p. 214), and that translation is adopted here as being in keeping with the preceding expression, *i.e.* the Buddha is independent of others for the knowledge in which he excels. See footnote *l.c.* Cf. also *Miln*. p. 256, *Sayambhū . . . Tathāgato, anācariyako*, "Self-dependent for his knowledge is the Tathāgata, without a master."

abode in deva states,[1] in immovable, unchangeable states. A Buddha, he abode in a Buddha's states; a Conqueror, he abode in a Conqueror's states; an expert, he abode in an expert's states, and omniscient he abode in the states of omniscience. He had attained control over his thoughts, and, in short, the Buddha abode in whatever states appropriate to an Exalted One that he desired.

Now the venerable Mahā-Maudgalyāyana dressed early and set out for the city of Rājagṛiha to beg for alms. But before he had gone far this thought occurred to him: "It is as yet much too early to go to Rājagṛiha for alms. **(35)** What, then, if I were to go where the company of the Śuddhāvāsa[2] devas are? It is a long time since I have visited them."

Then the venerable Mahā-Maudgalyāyana by means of his magic power reached the Śuddhāvāsa devas in one stride. The multitudes of the Śuddhāvāsa devas saw him coming from afar and came forth to meet him. "Here," said they, "here is the noble Mahā-Maudgalyāyana. Hail and welcome to the noble Mahā-Maudgalyāyana. After a long absence the noble Mahā-Maudgalyāyana has taken the opportunity to come here." And the multitudes of Śuddhāvāsa devas bowed their heads at the feet of the venerable Mahā-Maudgalyāyana and stood on one side.

A certain Śuddhāvāsa deva then spoke to the venerable Mahā-Maudgalyāyana thus, "Strange is it," said he, "wonderful is it, O noble Maudgalyāyana, that it is so hard to attain the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment. For it takes a hundred thousand *kalpas* to do so."

Then the blessed Śuddhāvāsa deva related the following tale to the venerable Mahā-Maudgalyāyana:

For a hundred thousand *kalpas* a monk called Abhiya lived in passion, malice and folly. Now at that time, Maudgalyāyana, there was a city named Vasumata[3] **(36)** which was

[1] *Vihāra*, here a state or condition of moral or spiritual life. In the Pali texts these states are more dogmatically defined. They either denote the sublime states in general, usually three in number (*e.g. D.* 3. 220), *devavihāra*, *brahmavihāra* and *ariyavihāra*, or, more specifically, the four qualities or forms of the *brahmavihāra*, viz. *mettā*, *karuṇā*, *muditā* and *upekkhā*, *i.e.* "love, pity, sympathy, and disinterestedness." These are also called the four *appamaññas* or "infinite conditions," and are referred to in *Divy.* 224. *Cf.* also *Mahāvastu*, 2. 419.

[2] See p. 28.

[3] Otherwise unknown.

thriving, prosperous, peaceful, having an abundance of food, was thronged by a multitude of happy citizens, was free from violence and riots, rid of thieves, and busy with commerce.

Now, Maudgalyāyana, in this great city of Vasumata, there was a merchant named Uttiya, who was virtuous, powerful, rich, wealthy, opulent, with great property, and having plenty in his treasury and granary. He had an abundance of gold, silver, luxuries, elephants, horses, cattle, sheep, bondsmen, bondswomen, and workmen. He believed in the teaching of the exalted Sarvābhibhū and paid homage to the Buddha, the dharma and the Sangha[1] and was devoted to Nanda and other monks.

Now, Maudgalyāyana, the monk Nanda and the monk Abhiya came to the house of the merchant Uttiya, and the monk Nanda was honoured, revered, esteemed, venerated and respected in the merchant's household, but not so the monk Abhiya.

Now, Maudgalyāyana, the daughter of the merchant Uttiya was the wife of a certain great householder in the great city of Vasumata, and she was especially devoted to the monk Nanda. Then, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, the monk Abhiya, because of his jealous nature, made a false accusation of adultery against the monk Nanda. "The monk Nanda," said he, "is unchaste, wicked, licentious, and a secret sinner. He is living a dissolute life with the daughter of Uttiya the merchant."

(**37**)People in the great city of Vasumata took up[2] this accusation, which they considered worth listening to and believing in. Then, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, the priests and laymen in the great city of Vasumata, and Uttiya the merchant, decided that the monk Nanda should no longer be honoured, revered, esteemed and venerated as before.

Genuine men readily repent and feel remorse for a wrong deed. And thus, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, this thought occurred to the monk Abhiya: "Because of my jealous nature I falsely accused the monk Nanda of immorality, although he is free from passion, malice and folly, and is a worthy and distinguished man. Much demerit have I begotten. What, then, if I now ask the monk Nanda's pardon, and confess my sin before the exalted Sarvābhibhū ? "

[1] "The Order, the priesthood, the Buddhist Church." (*Pali Dictionary.*)
[2] *Sevitam, cf.* use of *sevati* in Pali—" to embrace," " make use of."

Then, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, the monk Abhiya asked forgiveness of the monk Nanda, and confessed his sin before the exalted Sarvābhibhū. Next, he went to the merchant Uttiya and said to him, "I should like, householder, to make an offering to the exalted Sarvābhibhū and his company of disciples. Pray, give me the means of doing so." And Uttiya the merchant gave the monk Abhiya much gold, and other rich householders did the same.

(38)Now, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, in the great city of Vasumata, there were two dealers in perfume who were devoted to the monk Abhiya. So, the monk Abhiya, with a hundred thousand pieces[1] in his hand, went to the two perfume dealers and said to them, "My good friends,[2] I want these one hundred thousand pieces' worth of *keśara*[3] essence. I shall take care[4] of it and offer it to the exalted Sarvābhibhū and his company of disciples."

The two perfume-dealers gave[5] him a hundred thousand pieces' worth of *keśara* essence. Then the monk Abhiya feasted and regaled the exalted Sarvābhibhū and his company of disciples with plentiful and palatable food, both hard and soft. When he saw that the exalted Sarvābhibhū had eaten, washed his hands, and put away his bowl, he scattered the hundred thousand pieces' worth of *keśara* essence on, over and about him and his company of disciples. And when he had done so he conceived the thought: "Ah, may I in some future time become a Tathāgata, an Arhan, a perfect Buddha, proficient in knowledge and conduct, a Sugata, an unsurpassed knower of the world[6], a driver of tameable men, a teacher of devas

[1] Probably the square copper coin called *kahāpaṇa* in Pali and *kārṣāpaṇa* in Sanskrit.

[2] Plural of *Vāsiṣṭha*, properly a member of the *gotra* of that name, tracing its descent from the sage Vasiṣṭha, but here, and often, purely a conventional term of polite address.

[3] A perfume prepared from the flower of that name.

[4] *Parihariya*, participle from *pariharati*, cf. *parihareyam*, "may I preserve" p. 39, *et al.*

[5] *Pariharensu* of the text is obviously, as Senart points out, a mistake due to the proximity of *parihariya*, for the context requires a verb of "giving," and Senart suggests *paridadensu*.

[6] *Lokavidanuttara*. In the corresponding formula in Pali texts, *anuttara* is invariably an adjective qualifying the next term in the series, *purisadammasārathi*—at least, it is always so translated. But in the *Mahāvastu* the adjective is always written as the final part of the above compound term. It should be added that on p. 229 of text *puruṣadamyasārathin* is clearly qualified by *anuttara*, but in a context different from the present one.

and men, as this exalted Sarvābhibhū now is. Thus may I become a Great Man,[1] endowed with his thirty-two marks,[2] my body adorned with his eighty minor characteristics,[3] and possessing the eighteen distinctive attributes[4] of a Buddha, strong with the ten powers[5] of a Tathāgata, confident (39) with a Buddha's four grounds of confidence,[6] as the exalted Sarvābhibhū now is. Thus may I set rolling the unsurpassed wheel of dharma never yet set rolling[7] by recluse, brahman, deva, Māra,[8] Brahmā or any one whatsoever. May I, reborn again in the world, together with dharma, preserve the community of disciples in harmony as the exalted Sarvābhibhū now does. Thus may devas and men decide that I am to be hearkened to and believed in as they now do this exalted Sarvābhibhū. Having myself crossed, may I lead others across; released, may I release others; comforted, may I comfort others; emancipated, may I emancipate others. May I become all this for the benefit and welfare of mankind, out of compassion for the world, for the sake of the multitude, for the good of devas and men."

Then, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, the exalted Sarvābhibhū, aware of this vow of the monk Abhiya, said to him, "You will, Abhiya, in some future time, after a hundred thousand *kalpas*, become a Tathāgata of the name of Śākyamuni, an Arhan, a perfect Buddha, proficient in knowledge and conduct,

[1] *Mahāpuruṣa*, Pali *Mahāpurisa*, "a great man, a hero, a man born to greatness, a man destined by fate to be a Ruler or Saviour of the world." (*Pali Dict.*)

[2] See p. 180.

[3] See p. 181, *n*4.

[4] *Āveṇikā buddhadharmās*. The adjective *āveṇika* is of obscure origin, but its general sense is made clear by its use in Pali, *e.g.* *S.* 4. 239, *Pañcimāni . . . mātugāmassa āveṇikāni dukkhāni yāni mātugāmo paccanubhoti aññatreva purisehi*, *i.e.* "the five *special* misfortunes of females not shared by men." The Commentary defines *āveṇika* by *patipuggalikāni asadharaṇāni purisehi*, *i.e.* "peculiar, not common to males."

[5] See p. 126.

[6] *Vaiśāradya*, Pali *vesārajja*. These four assurances are that enlightenment has been won, that the *āśravas* (see p. 49) have been eradicated, that the obstacles (see p. 117) have been recognised, and that the way of salvation has been preached. See *M.* 1. 71.

[7] In this formula the *Mahāvastu* (Vol. I) regularly has *apravartitam*, "not set rolling" (or *apravartiyam*, "not to be set rolling"). The only reminiscence in the *Mahāvastu* of the Pali *appaṭivattiyam*, e.g. *Sn.* 557, which has usually been translated "not to be rolled *back*" is the reading *aprattivarttiyam* of one MS. on p. 330.

[8] The "god of death" ($\sqrt{}$ *mṛi*, "to die"), but, more properly, as regards function, the Buddhist devil or Satan.

a Sugata, an unsurpassed knower of the world, a driver of tameable men, a teacher of devas and men, even as I now am. You will become endowed with the thirty-two marks of a Great Man, your body adorned with his eighty minor characteristics. You will have the eighteen distinctive attributes of a Buddha. You will be strong with the ten powers of a Tathāgata, and confident with a Buddha's four grounds of confidence, even as I now am. And thus you will set rolling the unsurpassed wheel of dharma never yet set rolling by recluse, deva, Māra, or anyone else. Reborn again in the world, together with dharma, you will preserve (40) in harmony the company of disciples as I do now. Thus will devas and men decide that you are to be hearkened to and believed in, as they now do me. Having yourself crossed, you will lead others across; released you will release others; comforted, you will comfort others; emancipated, you will emancipate others, as I now do. You will become all this for the benefit and welfare of mankind, out of compassion for the world, for the sake of the multitude, for the good and well-being of devas and men."

Then, Mahā-Maudgalyāyama, as soon as it was proclaimed by the perfect Buddha Sarvābhibhū that the monk Abhiya would win the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment, the system of the three-thousand worlds trembled and quaked six times.[1] The eastern region rose, the western subsided; the eastern region subsided, the western rose; the southern region rose, the northern subsided; the southern region subsided, the northern rose; the middle regions subsided, the extremities rose; the middle regions rose, the extremities subsided. The devas of earth[2] shouted and made their cries heard. "It has been proclaimed by the exalted perfect Buddha, Sarvābhibhū, that this monk Abhiya will win the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment. He will do this for the welfare and benefit of mankind, out of compassion for the world, for the sake of the multitude, for the good and well-being of devas and men."

When they heard the shout of the devas of earth, the devas of the sky, the Caturmahārājika devas, the Trāyastriṃśa devas,

[1] Literally "in six changes" or "disturbances," *vikāra*.

[2] *Bhūmyā devā, i.e.* the "spirits" of the primitive culture or popular belief, like the yakṣas, rākṣasas and others, whom the Buddhists recognised as a class of devas. Cf. *A*. 4. 118.

the Yāma devas, the Tuṣita devas, the Nirmāṇarati devas, the Paranirmitavaśavartin devas, and the devas in Brahmā's entourage, raised a shout and made their cries heard.(**41**) "Thus, friends," said they, "has it been proclaimed of the monk Abhiya by the exalted Sarvābhibhū that he will win the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment. He will do this for the welfare and happiness of mankind, out of compassion for the world, for the sake of the multitude, for the welfare and happiness of devas and men."

Then there appeared a great radiance, immense and sublime in the world. And the spaces between the worlds, regions of blackness plunged in blackness, of gloom plunged in gloom, dark[1] regions, unfathomed,[2] never before fathomed, where the moon and sun, powerful and majestic though they are, with all their brilliance cannot make their brilliance prevail,[3] with all their light cannot make their light prevail, suddenly become suffused with this radiance. And the beings who had been reborn in those spaces exclaimed to one another, "Lo! there are other beings reborn here. Lo! there are other beings reborn here."

Now, all those beings were for that instant, for that moment, immersed in bliss. Even those reborn in the great hell Avīci excelled the splendour of devas, of Nāgas,[4] and of Yakṣas.

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[1] *Agha.* Senart, being practically confined for parallels to the *Lotus* and *Lal. Vist.*, is in difficulties regarding this word, and is constrained to render it by "souffrances," thus differing from Burnouf who, in Appendix III to the *Lotus* had translated it "pécheresses." The parallel passages in Pali texts since published, *e.g.*, *A.* 2. 130; *S.* 5. 454; and *D.* 2. 12, however, make it clear that *agha* is either a substantive meaning "darkness" or "blackness" or an adjective, "dark," "black."

[2] *Asaṃvidita*, "unknown," "uncomprehended." The corresponding word in the Pali parallel passages is *asaṃvuta*, "unrestrained," "orderless," "baseless," and is explained by the *Commentary* on *A.* 2. 130 as *heṭṭhāpi appatiṭṭha*, *i.e.* "without a support beneath."

[3] *Abhisaṃbhuṇanti.* According to the *Pali Dictionary*, this is a variant form of *sambhavati* (*sambhoti*), having the more particular sense of "to reach" or "to be able to." The *Commentary* on *Sn.* 396 has the gloss *asambhuṇanto*: *asakkonto* ("unable"). See also the long note by Senart who, after an examination of its use in Buddhist Sanskrit, arrives at pretty much the same interpretation of its meaning.

[4] A class of beings in primitive Indian belief, evidently surviving in Buddhist folklore. In form they were snakes, and were gifted with miraculous powers. But there is undoubtedly great confusion between the Nāgas as supernatural beings, and as the name of certain non-Aryan tribes. In the *Mahāvastu*, *e.g.* p. 190, we hear of Nāga devas. *Nāga* also means "elephant"; indeed, men were inclined to call all big things "Nāga" (*A.* 3. 345 ff.). When the Buddha or an Arhan is styled *Nāga*, we are to bear in mind the accepted etymology of the name as *āguṃ na karoti* "does no wrong."

The realms of Māra were eclipsed,[1] rendered lustreless and joyless. Shattered they fell a *kos*[2](42), two *kos*, three. Shattered they fell for *yojanas*, for twice five *yojanas*. And wicked Māra was unhappy, discomfited, remorseful, tortured by the sting within him.

When[3] *he had presented his gift, he made his vow. "May I," said he, " become a guide of the world, a teacher of devas and men. May I preach the noble dharma.*

"May I bear about the torch of dharma. May I beat the bannered drum of dharma. May I raise the standard of dharma. May I blow the noble trumpet.

"Thus may I expound and preach dharma. Thus may I establish many people in the noble dharma.

"Thus may devas and men listen to my eloquent words. Thus may I set rolling the wheel of dharma for the sake of the multitude.

"May I plant the rudiments of wisdom in the people who are sunk in misery, who are tormented by birth and old age and are subject to death, who see only with the bodily eye, and (*lead them*) *from their evil plight.*

"May I release from the round of existence those who are scattered in Sañjīva, Kālasūtra, Sanghāta, Raurava, Avīci, and the six spheres of existence.[4]

(43)*"May I release from the round of existence those whose karma has fully or partly matured*[5] *in hell, those who are afflicted in evil plight, those who are subject to death, and those of little happiness and much misery.*

"May I live on doing good in the world, teaching dharma

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[1] *Dhyāma*, which Senart explains as " une orthographe sanscritisante pour le pâli-prâcrit *jhāma* = *kṣāma*, " consumé, brûle," but modified in meaning here to denote " obscurci, éclipsé."

[2] Sanskrit *krośa* (here *krośika*), a measure of distance, equal to $\frac{1}{4}$ *yojana* or, according to others, $\frac{1}{2}$.

[3] A verse redaction of the story of Abhiya.

[4] In the earlier Pali texts these *gatis* or " spheres of existence " are five in number, *viz.* hell, the brute creation, the ghost world, human life, and the deva worlds. Later texts add a sixth, *viz.* existence as *asuras*. Elsewhere the *Mahāvastu* (I. 293) makes the *gatis* eight in number, without, however, indicating what the additional ones may be.

[5] ? *Pakvavipakvā*, a reading adopted by Senart in preference to the obscure *pakṣavipakṣa* of the MSS.

to devas and men. Thus may I convert people as this Light of the world[1] *does.*

"May I live in this world as He whose mind is rid of attachments does. May I set rolling the wheel that has not its like, and is honoured and revered[2] *by devas and men."*

The noble-born Conqueror, full of insight and understanding, aware of this vow, and seeing that all the conditions were satisfied, that (Abhiya) was without flaw, defect or blemish, thus proclaimed of him :—

"You will become a Buddha in the future, after a hundred thousand kalpas. You will become a guide of the world, a Śākyan of Kapilavastu in Ṛiṣivadana.[3] *Then will this vow of yours be fulfilled."*

Then the sea-girt earth shook, and the proclamation made of this illustrious monk Abhiya reached the ears of the assemblies of devas in heaven. A cry went up that,

(44) *The exalted Sarvābhibhū, whose banner is exceeding eloquent speech, had foretold to Abhiya, "You will become a Conqueror.*

"You will become that for the benefit and welfare of the worlds of Brahmā, of Suras and Asuras. The crowd of Asuras will dwindle, the community of men and devas will grow".[4]

Then, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, when they heard that it had been proclaimed of the monk Abhiya that he would win the

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[1] *Lokapradyota* (once also *lokasya pradīpa*, p. 167, where see note) occurs several times in the *Mahāvastu* as an appellation of the Buddha, but has no exact counterpart in the Pali texts, the nearest being "eye in the world." (The translator is indebted for this suggestive comparison to Miss I. B. Horner.)

[2] Although these adjectives are, in the text, nom. sing. masculine, the analogy of other passages shows, as Senart suggests, that they must be regarded as qualifying *cakram*, and they are translated accordingly.

[3] In Pali *Isipatana*, the open space near Benares where was situated the famous Migadāya or Deer Park. *Ṛiṣivadana* is the more frequent of the two forms of this name in the *Mahāvastu*, the other form being *Ṛiṣipattana*. In one place, however, (1. 359), it is spelt *Ṛiṣipatana* in accordance with the etymology of the name there given, viz. that it was so-called because the bodies of the Pratyekabuddhas "fell" there—*ṛiṣayo 'tra patitā*. The explanation of the name in Pali texts is slightly different. "Isipatana was so called because sages, on their way through the air (from the Himalayas), alight here or start from here on their aerial flight—*isayo ettha nipatanti uppatanti câti Isipatanaṃ*." (*D.P.N.*)

[4] Cf. *D.* 2. 271. *Yadā Tathāgatā loke uppajjanti arahantosammāsambuddhā dibbākāyā paripūrenti, hāyanti asurakāyā ti.*

perfect enlightenment, the two perfume-dealers, enraptured, rejoicing, elated, and glad, conceived this thought: "When the monk Abhiya becomes awakened to the perfect enlightenment, then may we become his chief disciples, the chief pair, a noble pair, like this pair of disciples[1] of the exalted Sarvābhibhū, the one pre-eminent for wisdom, the other for magic power".

Then, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, the daughter of Uttiya the merchant heard that it had been proclaimed of the monk Abhiya by the exalted Sarvābhibhū that he would win the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment. And when she had paid honour, reverence, respect and veneration to the Exalted One and his company of disciples, she made this vow: "A false accusation was made against me by the jealous monk Abhiya. When, therefore, through serving the exalted Sarvābhibhū and his company of disciples, I shall have acquired merit,[2] by the power of this root of merit, I shall slander the monk Abhiya with false accusations wherever he be reborn(45), until he has attained to perfect enlightenment."

Now, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, perhaps you will think that it was somebody else of the name Abhiya who at that time and on that occasion was the disciple of the exalted Sarvābhibhū. But you must not think so. And why? It was I, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, who at that time and on that occasion was the exalted Sarvābhibhū's disciple named Abhiya.

Again, you may think that at that time and on that occasion the two perfume-dealers of the great city of Vasumata were some two others. No more must you think that either. And why? Because at that time and on that occasion you two, Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana, were those two perfume-dealers. The vow you made then was your initial vow.

Perhaps, again, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, you will think that at that time and on that occasion the daughter of Uttiya the merchant was somebody else [. . . . . .].[3] In pursuance of that vow the Brāhman woman made false accusations against me in every one of my lives until I attained perfect enlightenment.

Perhaps, again, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, you will think that

[1] See below.
[2] Reading, with Senart, *kuśalamarjitaṃ* for *kuśalamūlaṃ* of the MSS.
[3] Lacuna.

at that time and on that occasion the merchant named Uttiya in the great city of Vasumata was somebody else. You must not think that. It was this Śuddhāvāsa deva here who, at that time and on that occasion, was the merchant named Uttiya in the great city of Vasumata. And he remembers these hundred thousand *kalpas* and recollects the dharma.

Here ends the story of Abhiya, with the accompanying verse, in the *Mahāvastu-Avadāna*.

THE MANY BUDDHAS[1]

(46) O Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, from the time that I made a vow to acquire enlightenment there have been immeasurable, incalculable *kalpas*. Countless Tathāgatas, Arhans, and perfect Buddhas did I adore, but none of them proclaimed my enlightenment. I adored three hundred of the name Puṣpa, yet I received no proclamation from them. Immeasurable, incalculable *kalpas* did I live and pass through, and countless Buddhas did I adore, but they made no proclamation concerning me.

Here, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, are the four stages in the careers of Bodhisattvas. What are the four? They are these: the "natural" career, the "resolving" career, the "conforming" career and the "persevering" career.[2]

And what, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, is the "natural" career? It is the nature of Bodhisattvas in this world to respect mother and father, to be well-disposed to recluses and brāhmans, to honour their elders, to practise the ten right ways of behaviour, to exhort others to give alms and acquire merit, and to honour contemporary Buddhas and their disciples. But as yet they do not conceive the thought of winning the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment.

First they worship glorious Tathāgatas with great reverence,
(47) *but not yet do these supreme men*[3] *turn their thoughts towards becoming a Foremost Man.*[4]

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[1] But see note p. 46.
[2] See p. 1.
[3] *I.e.* the Bodhisattvas.
[4] *I.e.* Agrapudgala, an appellation of the Buddha, practically the equivalent of *agrapuruṣa*, see p. 4.

These leaders of men worship koṭis *of those who have won mastery over all the powers,*[1] *long since reached perfect mastery*[2] *; but not yet do they turn their thoughts towards crossing the ocean of knowledge.*

These wise men honour koṭis *of Pratyekabuddhas*[3] *who have won the highest good, but not yet do they turn their thoughts to a knowledge of the whole dharma.*

Such, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana is the "natural" career. And what is the "resolving" career? There have elapsed immeasurable, incalculable *kalpas* since a Tathāgata named Śākyamuni, an Arhan, a perfect Buddha, proficient in knowledge and conduct, a Sugata, an unsurpassed knower of the world, a driver of tameable men, and a teacher of devas and men, appeared in the world. Now, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, Śākyamuni's city was named Kapilavastu, *and so on.* At that time I was a merchant, and after I had made an offering of rice-milk to Śākyamuni, I made a vow to win enlightenment.

When (*the Bodhisattvas*) *have laid up an abundant store of merit, and have body and mind well developed*[4] (48) *they approach the beautiful Buddhas and turn their thoughts to enlightenment,* (*each vowing*).

"By the merit I have formerly laid up in store, may I have insight into all things. May not my vow come to naught, but may what I vow come to pass.

"May my store of the root of merit be great enough for all living beings. Whatever evil deed has been done by me, may I alone reap its bitter fruit.

"So may I run my course through the world as He whose mind is rid of attachments does. May I set rolling the wheel of dharma that has not its equal, and is honoured and revered of devas and men."

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[1] The analogy of other passages in the *Mahāvastu, e.g.* 1. 52, implies that *baleṣu* is understood here with *vaśibhūta. Cf. Kvu.* 608. The "powers" here referred to are the ten *balāni* of a Tathāgata, for which see p. 126.

[2] Reading *gatān*, accusative for *gatā*, nom., and similarly °*pudgalān* for °*pudgalā* in line 8.

[3] Pali *paccekabuddha*, literally "individually enlightened," *i.e.* a "Buddha" who wins enlightenment, but passes away without proclaiming it to the world.

[4] Literally "body and mind made-to-become," *bhāvitaśarīramānasā.*

I first offered a drink of rice-milk to the world-transcending exalted Śākyamuni an incalculable *kalpa* ago. Then was my first vow made.

An immeasurable, incalculable *kalpa* afterwards, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, a Tathāgata of the name of Samitāvin appeared in the world, an Arhan, a perfect Buddha, proficient in knowledge and conduct, a Sugata, an unsurpassed knower of the world,(**49**) a driver of tameable men, and a teacher of devas and men.

Now at that time there was a Bodhisattva, who was a universal king, ruling over the four continents, who was triumphant, possessing the seven treasures of a king, who was righteous, a king of righteousness, pursuing the path of the ten virtues. These seven royal treasures are the wheel, the elephant, the horse, the precious stone, the woman, the householder, and the counsellor. He had a full thousand sons, who were valiant, courageous, and stout of limb, who crushed the armies of their foes. He ruled over these four continents, to wit, Jambudvīpa, Pūrvavideha, Aparagodānīya and Uttarakuru—a land compact and peaceful, untroubled[1] by the scourge and sword, girt by sea and mountain, which he had won not by violence, but by righteousness.

Now, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, this universal king supplied the perfect Buddha Samitāvin and his company of disciples with all the requisites, with robe, alms-bowl, bed, seat, and medicines for use in sickness. He had a palace built of the seven precious substances, gold, silver, pearls, beryl, crystal, white coral, and ruby, with eighty-four thousand pillars, each pillar up to its middle fashioned of points of gold set close together.[2] He had erected eighty-four thousand buildings with peaked roofs, bright and sparkling, of the seven precious substances, gold, silver, pearls, beryl, crystal, white coral and ruby.

When, Mahā-Maudgalyāna, he had built such a distinguished palace, the universal king presented it to the perfect Buddha Samitāvin, and made this vow: "Ah! May I in some future time become(**50**) a Tathāgata, an Arhan, a perfect Buddha, proficient in knowledge and conduct, a Sugata, an unsurpassed

[1] Reading *anutpīḍāṃ* for *anutpīḍena*, as the syntax demands; °*adaṇḍena* is tautological, repeating the same word earlier in the compound.

[2] ? *ābaddhahiraṇyakoṭihi nirmito upārdhasya.*

knower of the world, a driver of tameable men, and a teacher of devas and men, as this exalted Samitāvin now is. May I become endowed with the thirty-two marks of a Great Man, and my body adorned with his eighty minor characteristics. May I have the eighteen distinctive attributes of Buddhahood, and be strong with the ten powers of a Tathāgata, and confident with the four grounds of self-confidence, as this exalted perfect Buddha Samitāvin now is. Having crossed over, may I lead others across; comforted, may I comfort others; emancipated, may I emancipate others. May I become so for the benefit and welfare of mankind, out of compassion for the world, for the good of the multitude, for the welfare and benefit of devas and men.

Such, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, was the vow of the Tathāgata.

> *May I journey through this world as He whose mind is rid of attachments does. May I set rolling the wheel that has not its equal, and is honoured of devas and men.*[1]

Then, this thought occurred to the perfect Buddha Samitāvin: "How now? When I have utterly passed away,[2] when these disciples of mine have passed, and when the preaching of the dharma has ceased, after how long a time will an exalted Buddha appear in the world?"

He did not foresee one in one *kalpa*,(**51**) nor in two. It was in a hundred thousand *kalpas* that he foresaw a Buddha in the world.

Then, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, a feeling of great pity for all beings came over the compassionate Buddha Samitāvin. "I must," said he, "inevitably fulfil the five obligations of a Buddha. What five? I must set rolling the wheel of dharma. I must convert my mother and my father, and those ready to receive the Buddha's teaching,[3] and I must anoint the heir to the throne. For he, when I have passed away, will become

[1] See note, p. 37.

[2] *Parinirvṛita*, Pali *parnibbuta*, also translated "emancipated" when it denotes complete freedom from earthly bonds, or the potentiality of not being liable to rebirth. Here it refers to the actualisation of that potentiality at death. In this latter sense it is sometimes translated "passed to Nirvāṇa." which, however, gives the false implication of passing to some localised state,

[3] *Bauddhavaineyakā*. *Vaineyaka* = *vaineya* which is the Pali *veneyya* "to be instructed" (*vineti*, *vinaya*), a late term in the *Jātakas* and the Commentaries.

a Buddha in the world. As I am now, so this Bodhisattva, Ajita, will become a Buddha in the world. His name will be Ajita, of the Maitreya family, in the capital city, Bandhumā.[1] Let me then continue in life for a hundred thousand *kalpas*."

Then, the perfect Buddha Samitāvin addressed his monks: "As I was alone here in seclusion and retirement this mental reflection arose in me. When I have utterly passed away, when my disciples, too, have passed, and when the preaching of dharma has ceased, after how long a time will a Buddha appear in the world? I did not foresee one in one *kalpa*, nor in two *kalpas*, nor in three. But in a hundred thousand *kalpas* I did foresee a Buddha in the world. Now, I must inevitably fulfil the five obligations of a Buddha, and this person whom I have to anoint heir to the throne will be reborn among the long-lived devas. What now if I decide to live on for these one hundred thousand *kalpas*? Who will stay with me?"

(52)Then, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, eighty-four thousand monks who had full mastery over the powers,[2] chose to live on in this world. "We, lord," said they, "We, Sugata, will stay." And so the perfect Buddha Samitāvin and his disciples lived for a very long time.

At the dissolution[3] of the universe men after death are

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[1] In the Pali texts, the Buddha Metteyya is to be born at Ketumatī.

[2] *I.e.* the powers or *balāni* of an *āryaśrāvaka*, or "noble disciple," namely, *prajñābala* (Pali *paññā°*), "power of wisdom," *vīryabala* (*viriya°*), "of exertion," *anavadya°* (*anavajja°*), "of blamelessness," and *sangrāha* (*sangāha*) "of self-restraint." (*A*. 2. 142; 4. 363.) At *D*. 3. 229, these *balāni* are given in greater detail as consisting of three groups of four *balāni* each.

[3] *Saṃvartakālasamaye*, literally "at the time of the *saṃvarta* (Pali *saṃvaṭṭa*). *Saṃvarta* is the noun of the verb *saṃvartati* (Pali *saṃvaṭṭati*) which, according to the *Pali Dictionary*, means "to be evolved," or "in process of evolution," while *saṃvaṭṭa* is said to mean "rolling on" or "forward," opp. to *vivaṭṭa* (see below), "rolling back." But the texts, on the whole, would seem to suggest the meaning of "rolling up" for *saṃvaṭṭati* and "rolling out" for *vivaṭṭati*, or practically "involution" or "dissolution" for the former and "evolution" or "coming to be" for the latter. At *DA*. 1. 110 Buddhaghosa glosses *saṃvaṭṭati* with *vinassati* ("is destroyed") and *vivaṭṭati* with *santhāti* ("comes to be"). Woodward (*A*. 2. 142) translates the two terms respectively "rolls up" and "rolls out," while Rhys Davids (*Dial*. 1. 17) has "passes away" and "re-evolves." Buddhaghosa at *Vism*. 414 defines these two cycles in the words *parihāyamāno kappo samvaṭṭakappo, vaḍḍhamāno vivaṭṭakappo*—"the descending [lit. 'waning'] cycle is the cycle of dissolution, the ascending [lit. 'growing'] cycle is the cycle of evolution." (Maung Tin's translation.) A little later, Buddhaghosa uses the term *saṃvaṭṭa* to denote the "end" of the world, whether caused by water, fire, or air.

reborn among the Ābhāsvara devas.[1] On his death, therefore, the king was reborn among these devas, and the Exalted One also, together with his disciples, passed to the realm of the Ābhāsvara devas.

When the universe begins to re-evolve, and the world is being resettled, beings pass away from the world of the Ābhāsvara devas, because their span of years there is ended,[2] and they come down to this world. The Bodhisattva also passed away from the realm of the Ābhāsvara devas, and, coming to the world, became again a universal king over the four continents, triumphant, *and so on up to* "he ruled over these four continents having won them by righteousness."

When the duration of men's lives began to be limited, and old age, sickness and death became known, the exalted Samitāvin, the perfect Buddha, came to Jambudvīpa, and there taught men dharma. Then the universal king presented the perfect Buddha with all the requisites, robe, alms-bowl, bed, seat, and medicines for use in sickness. He built a palace of the seven precious substances like the one already described, and presented it to the exalted perfect Buddha. In this way the perfect Buddha Samitāvin and his community of disciples survived for one hundred thousand *kalpas*, and was always served by the Bodhisattva, who in every *kalpa* without fail built a similar palace of the seven precious substances and presented it to the perfect Buddha Samitāvin. (53) In his quest for the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment, the Bodhisattva as a universal king presented Samitāvin with a hundred-

[1] "The shining devas" or the devas of Abhāsvara (Pali *Ābhassara*) "a Brahmā-world where live radiant devas from whose bodies rays of light are emitted like lightning" (*D.P.N.*) The world of the Ābhāsvara devas was left untouched when the dissolution was the kind caused by fire, as the Subhakiṇha world was in that caused by water, and the Vehapphala in that caused by air. (*Vism., l.c.*)

[2] *Āyu:kṣayāya* of the text has been changed to *āyu:kṣayā* (causal ablative, for *-āt, cf. apāyā*, abl., p. 42 of text), so as to bring the passage into conformity with such Pali passages as *D.* 1. 17, *ath' aññataro satto āyukkhayā vā puññakkhayā vā Ābhassarakāyā cavitvā,* "and some being or other, either because his span of years has passed or his merit is exhausted, falls from the World of Radiance" (*Dial.* 1. 30). *Cf.* also *D.* 3. 29. In printing *āyu:kṣayāya* (dative of purpose), Senart took the meaning to be "pour épuiser ce que leur karman leur attribue encore d'existence," and cites in support of his interpretation *Mahāvastu* 1. 338, where *āyu:kṣaya* is coupled with *karmakṣaya.* But the latter is there equivalent to the Pali *puññakkhaya*, that is to say, *karma* as good *karma,* which it is here, is equivalent to *puṇya* (*puñña*).

thousand palaces made of the seven precious substances. An incalculable *kalpa* afterwards,

> *When he had prescribed his gift, the Bodhisattva made his vow: "May I become a guide of the world, a teacher of devas and men. May I expound the noble dharma.*
>
> *"Thus may I expound and preach dharma; thus may I establish many people in the noble dharma.*
>
> *"Thus may devas and men listen to my eloquent words; thus may I set rolling the wheel of dharma for the sake of the multitude.*
>
> *"May I bear about the torch of dharma; may I beat the bannered drum of dharma. May I raise the standard of dharma; may I blow the noble trumpet.*
>
> *"May I plant the rudiments of wisdom in the world which is sunk in misery, is afflicted by birth and old age, is subject to death, and sees only with the eye of the body, and (may I lead it) from its state of woe.*
>
> *"May I release from the round of rebirth those who are scattered in Sañjīva, Kālasūtra, Sanghāta, Raurava, Avīci, and the six spheres*[1] *of existence.*
>
> *"May I release from the round of rebirth those whose karma has fully or partly matured in hell, those who are afflicted in the states of woe, those subject to death, and those of little happiness and much suffering.*
>
> **(54)***May I live on doing good in the world, and teach dharma to devas and men. Thus may I convert people as this Light of the world now does.*

Then was the second vow made.

The Bodhisattva gave eighty mansions built of sandalwood to the world-transcending Buddha, Guru, and vowed: "In an incalculable *kalpa* hence may I become an Exalted One."

Then was the third vow made.

As King Arka the Bodhisattva gave to the Buddha named Parvata eighty-thousand grottos adorned with the seven precious substances. Then was the fourth vow made.

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[1] See note p. 36.

He spent six years being instructed by Ratanendra[1] in the ideas of impermanence, mental images, and the pleasures of the senses. Then was the fifth vow made.

Here ends the *sūtra*[2] on the "Many-Buddhas" in the *Mahāvastu-Avadāna.*

A VISIT TO THE ŚUDDHĀVĀSA DEVAS

Thus have I heard. The Exalted One was once staying near Rājagṛiha on Mount Gṛidhrakūṭa. Then the venerable Mahā-Maudgalyāyana dressed early in the morning, took his alms-bowl and robe, and set out for the city of Rājagṛiha in quest of alms.

But, before he had gone far, this thought occurred to him: "It is as yet much too early to go to Rājagṛiha for alms. What now if I pay a visit to the Śuddhāvāsa devas?" Then the venerable Mahā-Maudgalyāyana(55), in the time it would take a strong man to stretch out his bent arm and bend his outstretched arm, rose up in the air at Rājagṛiha and in one instantaneous stride alighted near the Śuddhāvāsa devas.

The Śuddhāvāsa devas saw him coming when he was yet far off, and came in a body to meet him. They bowed their heads at his feet, and stood to one side. As they thus stood to one side the numerous Śuddhāvāsa devas addressed the venerable Mahā-Maudgalyāyana in verse:—

> *It was after a very long time, after he had passed through a hundred thousand* kalpas *in quest of the perfection of enlightenment, that the infinitely precious Buddha appeared in the world.*

When they had thus spoken, the numerous Śuddhāvāsa devas bowed their heads at the feet of the venerable Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, stood to one side, and forthwith vanished.

[1] A name unknown to the Pali texts. Of the other names on this page neither Guru nor Parvata (Pabbata) appears in those texts as the name of a Buddha, although the latter is the name of both a Paccekabuddha and a Bodhisattva. Araka (= Arka) is the name of the Bodhisattva as a brahmin teacher at *J.* 2. 195 and *A.* 4. 136–8 (*D.P.N.*).

[2] Strictly speaking, as Senart points out, the foregoing is neither a *sūtra*, nor is the subject-matter "The Many-Buddhas." That subject is dealt with rather in the following.

Then the venerable Mahā-Maudgalyāyana reflected, "So hard is it to win enlightenment, requiring as it does a hundred thousand *kalpas*."

After that, the venerable Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, in the time it would take a strong man to stretch out his bent arm and bend his outstretched arm, with one instantaneous stride disappeared from the world of the Śuddhāvāsa devas and alighted in the city of Rājagṛiha(56). He went on his round for alms in the city of Rājagṛiha, and when he had returned, after the midday meal, he put down his bowl, doffed his robe, washed his feet, and went to the Exalted One. Bowing his head at the feet of the Exalted One, he sat down on one side. And as he thus sat down, the venerable Mahā-Maudgalyāyana said to the Exalted One, "Lord, after I had dressed early in the morning, I took my bowl and my robe and went to collect alms in the great city of Rājagṛiha. I had not gone far, Lord, before the thought occurred to me: "It is much too early as yet to go to the great city of Rājagṛiha to collect alms. What now if I go to visit the Śuddhāvāsa devas? It is long since I have visited them." Then in the time it would take a strong man to stretch out his bent arm or bend his outstretched arm, I rose in the air at Rājagṛiha, and in one instantaneous stride I alighted near the company of the Śuddhāvāsa devas. The numerous Śuddhāvāsa devas, Lord, saw me coming a long way off, and when they had seen me they came to meet me, bowed their heads at my feet and stood to one side. As they thus stood the numerous Śuddhāvāsa devas addressed me in a verse:—

> *It was after a very long time, after he had passed through a hundred thousand* kalpas *in quest of the perfection of enlightenment, that the infinitely precious Buddha appeared in the world.*

"When they had thus spoken the numerous Śuddhāvāsa devas bowed their heads at my feet(57) and departed. Hence the thought occurred to me: 'How hard it is to win the unsurpassed enlightenment, since it requires a hundred thousand *kalpas*. What now if I go to the Exalted One and question him on this matter? What the Exalted One will

declare that will I believe'. What does the Exalted One say concerning this ?"

When the venerable Mahā-Maudgalyāyana had thus spoken, the Exalted One said to him, "The one hundred thousand *kalpas* of the Śuddhāvāsa devas are too short a time, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana. It is for immeasurable incalculable *kalpas* and under a countless number of Tathāgatas, Arhans, and perfect Buddhas that those who seek perfect enlightenment in the future go on acquiring the roots of virtue. I knew three-hundred *koṭis* of Buddhas of the name of Śākyamuni, whom, with their communities of disciples, I honoured, venerated, revered, worshipped and esteemed when I was a universal king aiming at perfect enlightenment in the future. And those exalted Buddhas thus proclaimed to me: 'You will in the future become a Tathāgata, an Arhan, a perfect Buddha, proficient in knowledge and conduct, a Sugata, an unsurpassed knower of the world, a driver of tameable men, and a teacher of devas and men.'

"Again, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, I knew eight-hundred Buddhas named Dīpaṃkara, who, with their communities of disciples were honoured, venerated, revered, worshipped and esteemed by me, when, as a universal king I was aiming at perfect enlightenment in the future. And these exalted Buddhas proclaimed to me." *Repeat everywhere as in the first section:* "You will become in the future" *and so on.* I knew(**58**), Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, five hundred Buddhas of the name of Padmottara. *Repeat as above:* "You will become in the future" *and so on.* I knew eight thousand Buddhas named Pradyota, three *koṭis* named Puṣpa, eighteen thousand named Māradhvaja, at the time when I was living the holy life and aiming at perfect enlightenment in the future. And these exalted Buddhas made their proclamation of me.

"I knew, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, five hundred Buddhas of the name of Padmottara, who, with their communities of disciples were honoured by me. I knew ninety thousand named Kāśyapa; fifteen thousand named Pratāpa; two thousand named Kauṇḍiṇya, and eighty-four thousand Pratyekabuddhas. I knew the Tathāgata, Arhan and perfect Buddha Samantagupta. I knew the thousand Buddhas named Jambudhvaja; the eighty-four thousand named Indradhvaja; the fifteen thousand

named Āditya; the sixty-two hundred named Anyonya, and the sixty-four(59) named Samitāvin.

"Suprabhāsa was the name of the Tathāgata, Arhan, and perfect Buddha when the Bodhisattva Maitreya, as the universal king, Vairocana, was aiming at perfect enlightenment in the future and first acquired the roots of goodness. And, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, when Suprabhāsa was the Tathāgata, the measure of man's life was four times eighty-four thousand *koṭis* of years, and men lived more or less to this age.[1]

"Again, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, when Suprabhāsa was the Tathāgata, Arhan and perfect Buddha, there were three assemblies. The first assembly of disciples consisted of ninety-six *koṭis*, who were all arhans, who had destroyed the *āśravas*,[2] who had kept all the observances, who were emancipated by perfect knowledge, who had broken the fetters that tied them to existence and who had reached the goal they had set themselves. The second assembly of disciples consisted of ninety-four *koṭis*, who were all arhans, who had destroyed the *āśravas*, had kept the observances, were emancipated by perfect knowledge, had broken the fetters that bound them to existence, and had reached their goal. The third assembly of disciples consisted of ninety-two *koṭis* who were all arhans, who had destroyed the *āśravas*, had kept the observances, were emancipated by perfect knowledge, had broken the fetters that bound them to existence, and had reached their goal.

"Then, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, when King Vairocana had seen the exalted Suprabhāsa, he experienced a sublime thrill, ecstasy, joy and gladness. For ten thousand years he honoured (60) venerated, revered, worshipped and esteemed that Exalted One and his community of disciples. With honour and reverence he gave his protection to the assembly and to the community of disciples, and assured to men their due span

[1] *Antarā ca uccāvacatā āyuṣa:* literally, "(men's) lives were high and low within (this limit)."

[2] A wrong Sanskritisation of the Pali *āsava*, a term for which many translations have been offered, but none of them entirely satisfactory. It has been deemed better to retain the Buddhist Sanskrit form. Meanwhile, the definitions of *āsava* in the *Pali Dictionary* will give an indication of its meaning, literal and applied: (1) "Spirit, the intoxicating extract or secretion of a tree or flower." (2) "Discharge from a sore." (3) "In psychology, a technical term for certain specified ideas which intoxicate the mind. . . ." The *āsavas* are four in number, *viz.* sensuality, love of life, speculation, and ignorance.

of years. Then he conceived the thought: "May I become in some future time a Tathāgata, an Arhan, a perfect Buddha, proficient in knowledge and conduct, a Sugata, an unsurpassed knower of the world, a driver of tameable men, a teacher of devas and men, as this exalted Suprabhāsa now is. Thus may I preach the dharma that is endowed with all good qualities, altogether perfect in all good qualities, as the exalted Suprabhāsa now does. Thus may I preserve in harmony a community of disciples as the exalted Suprabhāsa now does. Thus may devas and men decide that I am to be hearkened to and believed in as they now do the exalted Suprabhāsa. May I become so for the benefit and welfare of mankind, out of compassion for the world, for the sake of the multitude, for the good and well-being of devas and men."

"Even so, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, there is something to add to this. For it was after he had been a Bodhisattva for forty-four *kalpas* that Maitreya conceived the thought of enlightenment.

"There was a Tathāgata, Arhan, and perfect Buddha named Aparājitadhvaja who, with his community of disciples, was honoured, venerated, revered, worshipped and esteemed by me, when, as the universal king, Dṛiḍhadhanu, I was aiming at perfect enlightenment in the future. I clothed him with five hundred costly[1] (**61**) suits of garments, and when he passed utterly away I erected a tope for him, a *yojana* high and a *yojana* deep.[2] And all the time, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, this was my aspiration: "When beings come to be without refuge, support, protection, shelter and succour, when they become characterised[3] by fickleness, malice and folly, when they live in accordance with wrong standards of conduct, and generally go to crowd the worlds of woe, then may I awake to the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment. May I do so for the benefit and welfare of mankind, out of compassion for the world, for the sake of the multitude, for the good of devas and men."

[1] Reading *mahārhantehi*, "worth much," for *mahantehi*, "large, great." The former is conjectured from the MS. variation between *mahantehi* and *arhantehi*. Senart's note, however, is: "On remarquera la résolution anomale du composé: *mahantehi* . . . *duṣyayugaśatehi* est pour *mahāduṣya*."

[2] *Abhiniveśena*, literally "in entering in (*sc.* the earth)." *Abhiniveśa* in this case is several times used in the *Mahāvastu* to denote a dimension in contradistinction to "height," *e.g.* 1. 196; 3. 222, 232.

[3] *Utsada* = Pali *ussada* in this sense, possibly a derivative meaning from that of "prominent," "prominence." See note p. 6.

For the Tathāgatas, Arhans, and perfect Buddhas, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, live their lives for the sake of the world, doing the things that are hard to do."

Thus spoke the Exalted One, and the venerable Mahā-Maudgalyāyana was enraptured, and rejoiced at what he had said.

Thirty koṭis *of Conquerors named Śākyamuni appeared in the world, and eight-hundred-thousand named Dīpaṃkara.*

Sixty thousand named Pradyota. . . .[1] *Then three* koṭis *of lion-voiced Buddhas named Puṣpa.*

Eighteen thousand Sugatas of the name Māradhvaja appeared in the world while [Śākyamuni] lived the holy life in his desire to attain omniscience.

He adored five hundred Sugatas named Padmottara(62) *and two thousand others named Kauṇḍiṇya.*

He adored infinite countless koṭis *of* nayutas *of Pratyekabuddhas, and a thousand Buddhas named Jambudhvaja.*

Eighty-four thousand Sugatas named Indradhvaja, and ninety thousand named Kāśyapa;

Fifteen thousand Sugatas named Pratāpa, and fifteen thousand named Āditya.

Sixty-two hundred Sugatas named Anyonya, and sixty-four thousand named Samitāvin.

There were these and countless other Daśabalas,[2] *noble Kolita,*[3] *all lights of the world who had overcome impermanence.*[4]

All the powers of those who bear the excellent marks of a Great Man, O Kolita, do not come within the time and definition of what is impermanent.[5]

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[1] A lacuna.

[2] A name for the Buddhas as possessing the "ten powers." See p. 126.

[3] *I.e.*—Mahā-Maudgalyāyana. See p. 6.

[4] The text and metre are faulty here. Senart's interpretation is: "tous ces flambeaux du monde ne peuvent être énuméré à cause de (notre) impermanence." This, like his translation of the next stanza (*q.v.*), is somewhat strained, and not in keeping with the concluding portion of this verse passage, the burden of which is the apprehending and overcoming of the power of impermanence. The word *samitā*, which is unintelligible here, has been, in the above translation, taken to conceal some form of the causative of *śam*, like *śamayitvā*, for example, "having suppressed" or "overcome." This, of course, involves reading *anityatām* for *anityatāya*. Senart assumes in the place of *samitā* some word meaning "qui ne peut être énuméré."

[5] *Anityatāya*, for *anityatāye*, which is demanded by the metre, is here taken as an oblique case used in a genitive sense. Senart's translation is "tous les forces . . . échappent au temps et à l'énumération, à cause de notre impermanence." But the enumeration of a Tathāgata's *balāni*, was, of course, quite a definite one, and a commonplace of Buddhist dogmatics.

Apprehending the remorseless force of impermanence, (Śākyamuni) as soon as he had worshipped [a Buddha], resolutely exerted himself to destroy that power.

" An immeasurable incalculable *kalpa* afterwards, Maudgalyāyana, there was a perfect Buddha named Ratna, a Tathāgata, an Arhan, a perfect Buddha, proficient in knowledge and conduct, a Sugata, an unsurpassed knower of the world, a driver of tameable men, and a teacher of devas and men. At that time I was a universal king.

" For the exalted Ratna[1] I built eighty-four thousand gabled buildings,(63) bright and fair to behold, made of the seven precious substances, gold, silver, pearls, beryl, crystal, white coral and ruby. When I had presented these to the Exalted One I made a vow to win enlightenment. (To which Ratna replied), " Exalted Buddhas do not pass away until they have anointed an heir to the throne. He will become a Buddha in the world immediately after me. As I now proclaim of Maitreya, he will become the Buddha next after me."

This Exalted One with his eighty-four thousand disciples, lived on for eighty-four cycles of the world's dissolution and evolution. At each dissolution of the world the Exalted One, together with his eighty-four thousand disciples, passed into the realm of the Ābhāsvara devas. When the world re-evolved once more, he came into the world and preached dharma. And at each such time I became a universal king, and built and presented to the exalted Ratna eighty-four thousand gabled buildings.

" This, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, is the " resolving " career. And what is the " conforming " career? In this career, the great being, the Bodhisattva, is established in conformity with his (future) enlightenment. This, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, is the " conforming " career.

" And what is the " persevering " career? *Vivartacaryā* means that Bodhisattvas fall away and go again through the round of rebirths. *Avivartacaryā* means that they are unwaveringly set for enlightenment. "

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[1] Here and on the next page called Ratnavan.

THE TEN BHŪMIS

Here must be given the *Ten Bhūmis*[1] and the history of Dīpaṃkara.

Homage to the Buddhas! Homage to the Arhans!

The beginning of the *Ten Bhūmis*.

Incomparable is the insight into dharma of those who in the round of rebirths[2](64) *have gathered lives through several hundred* kalpas. *The glorious Conquerors pass through ten* bhūmis.[3] *Hear,*[4] *ye wise, with what feats of wonder*[5] *they do so.*

Rid of pride, arrogance, conceit and folly, endued with perfect gentleness, feeling reverence for the omniscient ones, listen to the noble Conqueror's teaching.

When the Tathāgata, the Śākyan's joy, radiant like the sheen of gold, passed away, the earth, girt by sea and sky, with its rocks and forests and mountains, shook.

Seeing the hair-raising, terrible earthquake, Kāśyapa, perfect in piety,[6] *then fell to thinking :—*

"Why does the firm and wealth-bearing earth, that supports ocean and sky, with its mountains, shake to-day with such a terrible roar? Surely it is because the Tathāgata has passed away."

And when, with his deva-sight,[7] *he saw that the Tathāgata*

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[1] *Bhūmi*, literally "ground," "soil," "earth," here used to denote a career, or stage of development, of a Bodhisattva.

[2] *Vatte*, according to Senart for *varte*, an irregular Sanskritisation of the Pali *vaṭṭa*. But the whole passage is obscure, and *vatte* is strangely placed in the construction. Perhaps, we should read *vande*, "I extol the incomparable insight into dharma of those who have, etc."

[3] Literally, "there are ten *bhūmis* of the glorious Conquerors."

[4] Adopting Senart's suggestion of *suṇātha* for *sadā*.

[5] *Vikurviṣu*, from *vikurv*, this stem having, as Senart shows, the sense of "miracle," etc., derived from the primary sense of *vikṛi*, "to transform," *etc.*

[6] Or, "in scrupulous observance of routine rules of conduct." *Dhutaguṇa* is the virtue of keeping what in Pali is termed *dhutanga*, "a set of practices leading to the state of, or appropriate to, a *dhuta*, that is, to a scrupulous person" (*Pali Dictionary*). The use of *dhutaraja* on p. 66 in the sense of "undefiled," literally, "with defilement shaken off" (*dhuta*), serves to show that the *dhutanga* practices were regarded as marking, or conducing to, stainlessness of character.

[7] See p. 125.

adored by the Kinnara[1] *devas*(65) *had made an end of all the ties that bound him to existence and had passed away between the twin Sāl*[2] *trees, he said,*

"Now it is not seemly for me to go to Gotama, the Tathāgata, by means of my magic power. A pilgrim on foot will I go to see the peerless sage, the best of speakers."

When he had thus reflected, the wise Kāśyapa, the monk supreme among the many monks, distressed in mind made haste and presently came to him who had won final release.

Then Kāśyapa felt an overpowering desire to salute the Conqueror's feet, to salute the great seer's feet, by caressing them with his head.

Four sturdy Mallas[3] *had come on the scene carrying large firebrands fanned to flame, which had been prepared by the chief Mallas.*

The firebrands were carried by the energetic and strong chariot-warriors to the funeral-pile(66), *but there they were at once extinguished as though they had been drenched with water.*

In doubt and perplexity the Mallas, reverently, obeisantly and courteously approached Aniruddha,[4] *who had a deva's sight, to ask him this question.*

"What, we pray you, is the reason, what the cause, O son of the Conqueror, that these firebrands which we brought with us have been suddenly put out? Noble sir, declare the reason for this."

[*Aniruddha replied*] *"The devas, you must know, are gracious to Kāśyapa, and it is by the force of his magic power that the flames will not burn before he who has pre-eminence comes along."*

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[1] Literally "a what-do-you-call-it man," *kiṃ-nara*. For formation compare Sanskrit *kiṃsakhi*, "a bad friend," etc., and Pali *kimpurisa*, "a wild man of the woods." A Kinnara was half man, half beast, or, as in Pali, a bird with man's head. As in the case of other fabulous beings, these were taken up by late Buddhist thought and classed as devas or re-incarnations of human beings.

[2] *Śāla* or *sāla*, "Shorea robusta."

[3] Inhabitants of Malla, one of the sixteen Mahājanapadas or provinces of India in Gotama's time. They are generally identified with the Malloi of the Greek accounts of the wars of Alexander the Great. (*D.P.N.*)

[4] In Pali usually *Anuruddha*, first cousin of the Buddha, and one of his most eminent disciples.

Thus did the pious Kāśyapa realise his desire to salute with his head the two feet of the glorious and mighty Daśabala, the great sage.

And the saintly[1] *Kāśyapa, a son of the Conqueror, honoured by all the monks, raised his joined hands and went up to the Conqueror's funeral-pile, reverently, with bowed head and a humble heart.*

(67)*When he saw the Tathāgata in all his superb beauty laid out on a funeral-pile, he exclaimed, "Fie on existence that always bears the manifest marks of its true nature."*[2]

"What creature is there that comes into existence without falling into the power of death, since he who was but lately radiant as fire and gold, is now extinguished like a lamp without a light?"

The glorious Kāśyapa, reverently raising his joined hands threw himself on his face at the Conqueror's feet, and for the last time adored the great seer and sage.

Those two feet, adorned with perfect circles, extolled by Dānava[3] *devas and honoured by Yakśa*[4] *snake-demons forthwith broke through the funeral-pile.*

Taking in his hands the feet of the sage, and bringing them together over his head, Kāśyapa turned[5] *to the great and learned sage [Aniruddha] and spoke to him :—*

(68)*"Why, learned friend, are the sage's feet dulled and not gleaming? Tell me the whole cause of it, I pray you. Why do these feet no longer charm the eyes?"*

When he had heard this, the learned and wise [Aniruddha] replied to Kāśyapa: "These cold feet have been soiled by the floods of tears of mourners, besmirched by their weeping.

"Soiled, therefore, by weeping men the great sage's feet do not now gleam as they used to do. Understand the matter so, my devout friend."

Kāśyapa, his mind full of the greatest reverence for the

[1] *Dhutarajo*, see note p. 53.

[2] An alternative rendering, favoured by Senart, would be, "He exclaimed, 'Fie on existence,' in a voice that betrayed his true nature." The position of *iti*, however, on which Senart bases his version, is often irregular in the *Mahāvastu*, and it does not necessarily support him, while the sentiment of the next stanza seems to support the translation given above.

[3] A name for the Asuras, as being descendants of Danu.

[4] See note p. 25.

[5] *Antikāvacara = santikāvacara*, "keeping" or "being near."

Master, fell on his face, and again and again caressed with his hands the Sage's feet which were marked with perfect circles.

As soon as the Master's feet had been saluted by the pious and virtuous Kāśyapa, the funeral pyre of the Lord of the world went up in flames, fanned by a gust of wind.

(69)*As the moon-like body of the Conqueror was burning the five hundred holy men came up and together recited a chant as he passed away:—*

"He who bore the excellent marks of a Great Man has passed away, he who was our Master, the guide of Suras[1] *and Asuras. What does it profit us to tarry in the world any longer? Let us now abandon our bodies.*

"We have entirely accomplished our duties; we have attained griefless endless permanence, having passed through all the various lives. Let us then, even here and now, pass away."

When they had thus spoken, Kāśyapa, pure in his piety, said to the holy men, "No, my friends, you cannot here and now pass away, immune from any source of rebirth.

"For, if you did, sectarians and heretics would arise and do harm to the peerless doctrine. This is the occasion of the Śramaṇa's[2] *cremation, and that is all we are concerned with.*

"Those world-saviours, those many lion-hearted men, (70)*the wise and valiant yet to come, could not appear exultantly in the world if the Master's teaching were not unified.*[3]

"Therefore, without a break and in perfect unison, recite the Sugata's excellent teaching, so that this recital well and truly made, may long have bright renown among men and devas."[4]

"So be it," said these holy men, heeding Kāśyapa's words. And they pondered then, "In what place, now, shall be held the assembly of those who believe in the dharma?

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[1] "Gods" of Hindu mythology as opposed to "Giants" (Asuras). The name is formed from *asura* (*as-ura*) on the false assumption that the latter was a negative formation. Cf. note p. 24.

[2] *I.e.* the Buddha, the "ascetic" or "recluse," *par excellence.*

[3] *Sankaliya* "un optatif passif de *sankal* dans le sens d' 'accumuler,' 'réunir' " (Senart). Some form of *samskṛi* "make perfect" (cf. *śāsanakarā*, p. 71) or of *sankḷip* would be expected here. Note that one MS. has *saṃkariya.*

[4] *Maru*, a frequent synonym for *deva.*

"Let it be in the pleasant luxuriant grove near the fair city of Rājagṛiha that is the capital of Magadha's lord, in the grotto named Saptaparṇa.

"On the northern slope of Mount Vaihāya, on a rocky-surfaced spot of earth shaded by divers trees. There let the council of dharma be held."

Then, strong by their mastery of magic power(71) *those sons of the Conqueror instanteously rose up in the air, and flew like a flock of flamingoes on their way to lake Mānasa.*[1]

Alighting on the slope of the fair mountain they entered the forest and there sat down. When the Sugata's teaching had been recited bands of celestial drums crashed forth.

And when they who were establishing the Sugata's teaching heard the echoing sound of the drums and saw the terrible quaking of the earth, they spoke thus to the saintly Kāśyapa:—

"Why, pious friend, does the earth with its oceans and its streams tremble? Why do celestial drums joyfully resound? And why are celestial garlands strewn around?"

And the pious Kāśyapa replied to the holy sons of the Conqueror: "These companies of devas have assembled because they have heard the harmonious recital of the doctrine.

"These assembled devas, themselves characterised by noble harmony, reverently rejoice, and do honour to the Peerless One.(72) *Eager were they to hear*[2] *the whole harmonious doctrine.*

"For after many a hundred kalpas *of existence, during the long night he conceived this thought*[3] *for the benefit and welfare of devas and men: 'Free myself, I will set men free.'*

" 'I, who have won the highest good that is beyond grief, and the cessation of the ill of rebirth in all states, for the benefit of devas and men will set rolling the wondrous wheel of dharma in the city of the Kāśis.'

"With those five sages, the supreme guide of those who preach the Vinaya delivered hosts of devas and nayutas *of* koṭis *of beings from rebirth and death.*

"He, the lion-hearted man, the Exalted One, who gave

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[1] A sacred lake, the resort of wild geese and swans, on Mount Kailāsa, in the Himalayas, the home of Kuvera and Śiva. Cf. *Meghadūta*, 7 and 11.

[2] " Le potentiel *śṛiṇuya* comporte un nuance de désir " (Senart).

[3] *Abhyupagata* for the usual *cittamabhyupagata*.

happy release to men and devas who were wont to be fond of existence, having crushed all his adversaries, has now passed away without regret."

When the hosts of devas hovering in the air had heard this entrancing discourse of the pious Kāśyapa, they joyfully uttered these heart-delighting words :—

"Hail, hail to him who is an expert in piety, **(73)** *who is the infallible expositor of the Master's teaching. You have proclaimed the worth of him whose wisdom is infinite. Men and devas have found joy in the excellent Conqueror.*[1]

"For he is supreme among devas and men. He is the Foremost Man,[2] *the mighty sage, the unsurpassed refuge, the Lord, he who has discerned the truth for the sake of living beings.*

"He whose virtues are sung here, the knowing Daśabala, has shown that the skandhas[3] *are but as a lightning's flash, as a bubble of air, or as the snow-white foam on the crest of a wave.*

"He whose virtues are sung here, the Foremost Man, has shown the pleasures of sense to be like a black serpent's head, like a flashing[4] *sword, and like cups full of poison.*

"By his perfectly sound beliefs he saw the unfluctuating bliss beyond, and out of his joy in charity he ungrudgingly revealed the wonder of it.

"As a glow-worm loses its brightness when the sun rises, **(74)** *and no longer glistens,*[5] *so, when the light-bringing Conqueror arises fickle heretics lose their lustre.*

" Behold, he who had won perfect strength in magic power, he who was a lord with a Conqueror's might, possessed of clear insight, a Buddha, the eye of the world,[6] *radiant like an orb of gold, has passed away.*

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[1] The text has *Jetavane* " in Jeta Grove," but, as Senart points out, Jeta Grove is obviously out of place in this scene. Senart suggests that the right reading should be *Jinavare*, and this has been adopted for the translation.

[2] *Agrapuruṣa*, see note p. 4.

[3] " The elements or substrata of sensory existence, sensorial aggregates which condition the appearance of life in any form " (*Pali Dictionary*, s.v. *khandha*).

[4] *Ruccha*, which Senart takes to be a Prakrit form of *rukṣa*.

[5] The same simile, in very much the same words, is found in *Udāna*, p. 73. (The translator owes this reference to Miss I. B. Horner.)

[6] *Locanaṃ bhagavatasya*, literally " the eye of the Exalted One " ; *bhagavatasya* must be regarded as a genitive of definition, so that the phrase is equivalent to " the Exalted One who is the eye " (*sc.* of the world). Cf. *lokapradyota* and note p. 37.

"Fie on those existences which are like autumn clouds, or like cities of sand, since he who possessed a store of virtues and an ocean of consummate wisdom, has passed away.

"For a hundred causes and reasons the Guide roars the roar of a lion-man, as he sees that no death will again follow his life. No greater truth than this exists."

The sky was gay with garlands of celestial blossoms while this hymn of praise to the Sugata was sung. Pervaded by the essence of celestial sandalwood the sky was fragrant with ambrosial perfume.

Then the venerable Mahā-Maudgalyāyana addressed the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa, " O son of the Conqueror," said he, " set the holy men to examine those in the assembly whose minds are assailed by doubt."(**75**) And so Kāśyapa said to Aniruddha, Upāli, the elder Alakuṇḍala-Bhaṭṭiya, and Sundarananda :—

"O sons of the Conqueror, examine the minds of those assembled and find out who is doubting and on what matter."

And they, experienced in the Conqueror's teaching, obeyed, and said "So be it." They can see the minds of others as clearly as a fruit held in their hands.

To the holy Pralambabāhu Kāśyapa said, "Create at once an arena on the summit of Mount Gṛidhrakūṭa.

"Eighteen thousand have come together for the assembly. Call up your magic power to scrutinise them all."

To the holy Vicintacūta Kāśyapa said, "Create at once in the sky clouds that shall be as rich in water as the Ganges.

"Everywhere let flowers of divers scents spread their fragrance, and forthwith cause the smell of raw human flesh to disappear."

To the holy man named Haryakṣa Kāśyapa said, "O son of the Sugata, quickly exert your concentration to prevent the goods of householders being lost."

To the holy man Varuṇa Kāśyapa said, " Keep away from men baneful flies and gnats."

(**76**)*To the holy man Ajakarṇa Kāśyapa said, "Keep away from men hunger and thirst and sickness."*

And the sons of the Conqueror obeyed Kāśyapa, saying "So be it," and bestirred themselves to the tasks ordained them

Then the elder Kāśyapa said to Kātyāyana, "Speak of the careers of the great-hearted kings of dharma."

When this had been said, the wise and noble-born Kātyāayna, in reply to Kāśyapa's question, spoke of the careers of the Buddhas.

"Hear, O son of the Conqueror, the careers, set out in due order, of the all-seeing Buddhas whose conduct is unsullied.

"Verily, O son of the Conqueror, there are ten bhūmis *for the Bodhisattvas* [. . .].[1] *What are the ten?*

"The first is called durārohā,[2] *the second* baddhamānā, *the third* puṣpamaṇḍitā,

"The fourth rucirā, *the fifth* cittavistarā, *the sixth* rūpavatī, *the seventh* durjayā,

"The eighth is called janmanideśa; *the ninth derives its name from* yauvarājya, *and the tenth from* abhiṣeka. These *are the ten bhūmis.*

(77)*When Kātyāyana had so spoken in verse, the learned Kāśyapa then, following his purpose,*[3] *addressed this incomparable exhortation to Kātyāyana.*

"Tell me now the manner of the transitions from bhūmi *to* bhūmi, *and how the glorious Bodhisattvas lapse*[4] *as they pass from one life to another.*

"And how do these choice beings[5] *advance*[6]*? This tell me. And say what their dispositions are.*

"How do they who are endued with the essence of being[7] *convert beings? How do they give alms? All this explain to me.*

"Do you, who have seen Buddhas and can speak with charm, tell me their names and origin." Thus spoke Kāśyapa.

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[1] Lacuna.

[2] These names mean respectively, "Difficult to enter," "Fastening." "Adorned with flowers," "Beautiful," "Expansion of the heart," "Lovely," "Difficult to conquer," "Ascertainment of birth," "Installation as Crown Prince," and "Coronation." *See* Har Dayal: *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature* (1932), pp. 273 ff.

[3] Literally "for this purpose," *ityartham.*

[4] *vivartante*—" turn away."

[5] *Sattvasārā, i.e.* the Bodhisattvas. Cf. *M.* 3. 69, *sattasārā* applied to paccekabuddhas.

[6] *Samvartante*—" Come to be," " arise," *etc.* Both this verb and *vivartante* are here used in more or less their literal sense, without reference, that is, to their special application to denote, respectively, the " evolution " and " dissolution " of a cycle of the world. (See note p. 43.)

[7] *Sattvasamanvitā*, same as *sattvasārā.*

When they had heard these words the saintly great beings[1] *stood up in reverence for the great-hearted Buddhas.*

When this had been spoken Kātyāyana said to Kāśyapa, "It is not possible, O son of the Conqueror, to measure the *bhūmis* of Bodhisattvas. They last through so many, nay infinite, *kalpas*. But every existence of Bodhisattvas is succinctly defined as an "earth," whence the name *bhūmi*."

When Kātyāyana had said this, the venerable Ānanda asked him, "If, O son of the Conqueror, a single *bhūmi* is immeasurable,(**78**) how, I ask you, can there be a distinct conception of the others ?"

When this had been said, the venerable Kātyāyana addressed the venerable Ānanda in verse :—

As the kalpa *has been declared immeasurable by the discerning, truth-speaking One himself, and the preaching of the dharma goes on for several* kalpas—*this, my friend, is what the pre-eminent man teaches.*

So the bhūmi *has been declared immeasurable by the discerning One whose understanding is unobstructed. And this definition of general characteristics*[2] *applies equally to the other* bhūmis.

THE FIRST BHŪMI

"O son of the Conqueror, Bodhisattvas in their first *bhūmi*, ordinary men though they be, win fruition, become worthy of offerings[3] in the worlds, where they have bright renown. They are as described in this verse :—

The glorious Bodhisattvas are perfect in liberality and light up the worlds to make them shine as radiantly as moon and sun.

"There are eight rules of conduct for Bodhisattvas when they are in the first *bhūmi*. What are the eight ? They are liberality, compassion, indefatigability, humility, study of all the scriptures, heroism, contempt for the world, and fortitude. They are as described in this verse :—

[1] *Mahāsattvā*, *i.e.* the saintly disciples already referred to.

[2] Adopting Senart's interpretation of *sāmānyasanketānāṃ nirūpaṇam*.

[3] *Dakṣiṇīya* (Pali *dakkhiṇeyya*), worthy of a *dakṣiṇā* (Pali *dakkhiṇā*) or a donation to a man of religious or moral worth, intended, at least originally, to secure the alleviation of the sufferings of the *pretas* (*petas*) "ghosts"; but subsequently the idea seems to have been that the donor of such a gift acquired merit for himself.

(79)*The Bodhisattvas delight in generosity, and themselves become objects of pity.*[1] *Although overwhelmed by ills, yet in their wisdom they turn for consolation to the words and virtues of the sweetly-speaking Exalted Ones. Thus do these beings live in their first* bhūmi.

Judging the doctrines which pass current to be without substance, and realising what human affection is, they abandon the world, deeming it a thing of straw. They amass virtue through enduring bitter sufferings.

"There is one reason why Bodhisattvas lapse in their second *bhūmi*. What is that one? They come to contemplate life with satisfaction. There are two reasons why Bodhisattvas lapse in the second *bhūmi*. What are the two? They become lustful and indolent through indulgence in sensual pleasures. Again, there are three reasons why Bodhisattvas lapse in their second *bhūmi*. What are the three? They become covetous, timid and weak-willed. There are six reasons why Bodhisattvas who have lived[2] in the first *bhūmi* lapse in the second *bhūmi*. What are the six? They live without being conscious of the impermanence of things. They become addicted to harmfulness. They become inveterate haters. They become gross and sluggish, and immersed in the affairs of the world. O son of the Conqueror,(80) Bodhisattvas who have lapsed, are lapsing, and will lapse do so for these twelve reasons, and for no other."

When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa asked the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana, "O son of the Conqueror how great merit do the Bodhisattvas, both those who lapse, and those who do not, generate when they first conceive the thought, 'May we become perfect Buddhas?'"

When this was said, the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana replied to the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa, "Behold, O son of the Conqueror, he who vows to win enlightenment generates richer merit than he who should present the Daśabalas with Jambudvīpa and its hoard of the seven precious substances. O son of the Conqueror, he who vows to win enlightenment generates richer merit than he who should give the Daśabalas the four continents with their heaps of jewels. O son of the

[1] *Karuṇāyamānā*. In view of the context this meaning seems to be rightly preferred by Senart to the other sense of the word, "full of compassion."
[2] Literally "have stood," *sthitā*.

Conqueror, he who vows to win enlightenment generates richer merit than he who should give the virtuous Buddhas all the three thousand universes with their stores of treasures and riches. O son of the Conqueror, he who vows to win enlightenment generates richer merit than he who should offer the Saviours of the world whole universes as numerous as the sands of the river Ganges, and all filled with heaps of precious stones. O son of the Conqueror, he who vows to win enlightenment generates richer merit than he who should honour Foremost Men[1] by giving them whole universes as numerous as the sands of the ocean, and all their varied precious stones."

And why? Because these are not the purposes of ordinary men. Because it is for the sake of mankind that these valiant men form their wishes.

When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa asked the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana, "Again, O son of the Conqueror, **(81)** do those Bodhisattvas who continue in unwavering progress[2] make their first vow when they have acquired merits, or when they have acquired the roots of goodness?"

When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana replied to the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa in verse[3]:—

First they worship the glorious Tathāgatas with great reverence, but not yet do these supreme men turn their thoughts towards becoming a Foremost Man.

These wise men honour koṭis *of Pratyekabuddhas, men who have won the highest good, but not yet do they turn their thoughts to a knowledge of the whole dharma.*

They worship koṭis *of those who have won mastery over all the powers,[4] long since reached perfect mastery, but not yet do these leaders turn their thoughts to crossing the ocean of knowledge.*

But when they have laid up abundant store of merit, and have body and mind well developed, they approach the beautiful Buddhas, turn their thoughts towards enlightenment, (and say:)—

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[1] *Agrapudgalās.* See note p. 39.

[2] *Avaivartikatāyai pariṇāmenti*; with Senart, taking the verb as a denominative from *pariṇāma*, "change," "transformation," "progress."

[3] Some of these verses have already occurred on p. 46–7 of text.

[4] See footnote p. 126.

"By the root of goodness I have laid in store may I have insight into all things.(82) *May not the realisation of my vow be deferred too long, but may my vow be fulfilled.*

"May my store of the root of goodness be great enough for all living things. Whatever evil deed has been done by me, may I alone reap its bitter fruit."

When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa asked the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana, " How, O son of the Conqueror, do those Bodhisattvas who do not lapse, become steadfast and brave ? "

When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana replied to the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa in verse :—

"If I am doomed to dwell in Avīci from this moment to that in which I am to become aware of the ultimate truth, I shall go through with it, nor shall I withdraw my vow to win omniscience. Such is my resolve.

"Although I could quit the round of birth, death, grief and tribulation, I should not let my mind waver. Though overwhelmed with ills, I would bring blessings to the world of men." Such is the courage and strength of these sturdy men.

When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa asked the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana, "Again, O son of the Conqueror, when a Bodhisattva who does not lapse first conceives the thought of enlightenment what marvellous(83) portents are then seen ? "

When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana replied to the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa in verse :—

When the vow of these, the world's foremost men, is made for the first time, then the jewel-bearing earth, with its cities, towns, and rivers, shouts for joy.

A radiant splendour like that of the star of day is shed over all the regions of space, when a vow is first made to win the qualities of the lion-man.

Hosts of exulting Suras exclaim to one another, 'This infinitely exalted[1] *man vows to win the qualities of the lion-man.'*

[1] *Anantavūdagro, i.e. ananta + udagra.* The MSS. have °*vudagro*, but the metre requires °*vūd—*. Senart considers the " *v* " due to a Pali habit of prefixing it to an initial " *u*," which is at the same time lengthened. He compares Pali *vūpasama*, which he holds, is not from *vi + upa* but directly from *upasama*.

"We must cherish him, for, surpassing in might, and being a creator of bliss, he lays up a store of bliss for the sake of the world." This is the marvel that then comes to pass.

When this had been said the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa asked the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana, "O son of the Conqueror how many arduous tasks are performed by Bodhisattvas who do not lapse, when they are in the first *bhūmi*?"

When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana replied to the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa in verse:—

These brave men, who have set their faces towards omniscience, do not give way to idle regret when they have given up dear wives and beloved sons, their heads and their eyes, their jewels, carriages and beds.

(**84**)*Though they are sentenced to be flogged, bound and scourged by violent men whose minds are bent on foul deeds, they regard these men with hearts full of meekness and friendliness, and, innocent though they are, speak to them with gentle words.*

When they see a mendicant full of pride and conceit, the great men experience a thrill of joy. For, by giving him alms, they become elated at the access of virtue. They do not fall into remorse. These then are the austerities of the Bodhisattvas.[1]

Here ends the First *Bhūmi* in the *Mahāvastu-Avadāna*.

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[1] Text corrupt. Senart prints the *pāda* as follows:

Paścattapo na tu tapanti taponirāśā iti,

and translates "ils ne se livrent pas, après cela, aux austérités, désespérant, comme ils font, de l'austerité." He assumes that *tapas* (*tapo*) was wrongly written, in most MSS., because of the preceding *paścāt*, the compound *paścattāpa* being a common term for "remorse." But the avoidance of remorse or regret on the part of Bodhisattvas is often dwelt on (see *e.g.*, the preceding page), and that idea can be expressed here by reading *paścānutāpaṃ* after the analogy of the Pali *pacchānutāpa* (instead of the regular Sanskrit *paścāttāpa*, which would be unmetrical here). One MS., indeed, seems to have a reminiscence of the syllable *an* of *anu*. Such an emendation, also, does not require the change of *patanti*, on which all MSS. seem to be agreed, into *tapanti*. Consonant with the sense given by this emended form, the latter half of the *pāda* is conjecturally emended into *tapāṃsi tāni iti*, so that the whole *pāda* adopted for translation reads:

Paścānutāpaṃ na patanti, tapāṃsi tāni iti.

That is to say, the verse closes by summing up the arduous tasks or austerities of the Bodhisattvas in their first *bhūmi*, when it is too soon to speak of their ineffectiveness. The tone of the whole passage rather stresses their value.

THE SECOND BHŪMI

Then the elder Kāśyapa said to Mahā-Kātyāyana, "O great being, you have given an alluring description of the first bhūmi.

"Now tell me, O son of the Supreme Man, what state of heart is born in the Bodhisattvas immediately on their passing into the second bhūmi ?

"What are their dispositions in the second bhūmi ? *O son of the Conqueror, describe to me this* bhūmi *exactly as it is."*

Then the elder Kātyāyana replied to Kāśyapa, "I shall relate an entrancing description of the Bodhisattvas.

(85)*"Now, in Bodhisattvas as they pass on into the second* bhūmi *there is born first of all an aversion to all forms of existence. Of this there is no doubt.*

" O son of the Conqueror, the dispositions of Bodhisattvas, who are in their second *bhūmi*, are as follow. They are good, amiable, sweet, keen, bountiful, charming, profound, whole-hearted,[1] imperturbable, distinguished,[2] lofty, noble,[3] resolute, sincere, pure, steadfast, independent, contented, and intent on the Foremost Man[4] and the infinite !

" In what way, my pious friend, are the dispositions of the Bodhisattvas good ? "

" It is said " :—

In no way whatsoever do they harbour doubt of the Buddha, dharma, and Sangha. Thus is their disposition shown to be good.

" In what way, my pious friend, are the dispositions of the Bodhisattvas amiable ? "

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[1] *Aparyādinna*, literally, " not taken possession of." In Pali, however, *pariyādinna*, as a passive participle, means " exhausted," or " finished." But it has also a middle force, " losing control over," " overcome " (usually °*citta*). The above translation " whole-hearted," is based on this latter use in Pali.

[2] *Asādhāraṇa*, " not general," " uncommon."

[3] *Akṛipaṇa*, " not miserable."

[4] *Agrapudgala*, see note p. 39. The text here, however, and on p. 88 has *pudgala* simply.

"It is said":—

Though their bodies be rent, their spirit is not angered. Thus is their disposition shown to be amiable and meek.

"In what way, my pious friend, are the dispositions of the Bodhisattvas sweet?"

"It is said":—

(86)*These supreme men practise actions that are inwardly virtuous.*[1] *Thus are the dispositions of these devout men sweet.*

"In what way, my pious friend, are the dispositions of the Bodhisattvas keen?"

"It is said":—

They have clear vision and have their thoughts fixed on the world beyond as well as on this. Thus are the dispositions of these pure men keen.

"In what way, my pious friend, are the dispositions of the Bodhisattvas bountiful?"

"It is said":—

They lay up a store of great good for the welfare of all creatures. Thus are the dispositions of these supreme seers bountiful.

"In what way, my pious friend, are the dispositions of the Bodhisattvas charming?"

"It is said":—

Ungrudgingly they give charming and heart-delighting gifts. Thus are the dispositions of these men who perceive the highest good, charming.

"In what way, my pious friend, are the dispositions of the Bodhisattvas whole-hearted?"

"It is said":—

Their hearts are whole,[2] *their insight*[3] *lends them courage. Thus is their disposition said to be whole-hearted.*

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[1] Or, "actions within the bounds of virtue," *anta: kuśalakarmāṇi*. But Senart cites Pali *antokileśa* in support of the meaning rendered above.

[2] *Aparyādinnacittā*, see note p. 66.

[3] *Prativedha*, Pali *paṭivedha*, lit. "piercing."

"In what way, my pious friend, are the dispositions of the Bodhisattvas imperturbable?"

"It is said":—

No malevolent man can suppress them. Thus are their dispositions entirely unperturbed.

(87) "In what way, my pious friend, are the dispositions of the Bodhisattvas distinguished?"

"It is said":—

When a man conceives no other resolve but that of benefiting all creatures, people regard this as no common thing.

"In what way, my pious friend, are the dispositions of the Bodhisattvas lofty?"

"It is said":—

When they hear a heretic, they ignore him and go their way. Thus are the dispositions of these lion-hearted men lofty.

"In what way, my pious friend, are the dispositions of the Bodhisattvas noble?"

"It is said":—

In their wisdom they do not gather as being good those things which have to do with the pleasures of sense. Thus are their dispositions always noble.

"In what way, my pious friend, are the dispositions of the Bodhisattvas resolute?"

"It is said":—

Having made a resolve to win Buddha-hood, they are not distracted[1] *from it by indulgence in pleasures of sense. Thus are their dispositions said to be resolute.*

"In what way, my pious friend, are the dispositions of the Bodhisattvas sincere?"

"It is said":—

In no way do they envy saintly Pratyekabuddhas. Thus are their dispositions always sincere.

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[1] *Na avakīryante*, literally "they are not scattered from it." Compare *avakīrṇin*, "breaking a vow of chastity."

"In what way, my pious friend, are the dispositions of the Bodhisattvas pure?"

"It is said":—

(88) *Spurning profit and reputation, they strive for the ultimate good. Thus is their disposition shown to be pure.*

"In what way, my pious friend, are the dispositions of the Bodhisattvas steadfast?"

"It is said":—

Though persecuted by the worlds, they do not abate their zeal for dharma. Thus are the dispositions of these great seers steadfast.

"In what way, my pious friend, are the dispositions of the Bodhisattvas independent?"

"It is said":—

Though they faint, they do not, saturated with lust,[1] *eat the food of others. Thus, noble sir, is their disposition extolled as independent.*

"In what way, my pious friend, are the dispositions of the Bodhisattvas contented?"

"It is said:—

They always find their joy in renouncing the world, and do not dissolutely indulge in pleasures of sense.[2] *Thus is the disposition of the Bodhisattva always extolled as contented*".

"In what way, my pious friend, are the Bodhisattvas intent on the Foremost Man?"

"It is said:—

In their wisdom they yearn for the omniscience of the Self-becoming One. Thus do they become intent on the Foremost Man, and incomparably steadfast".

(89) "In what way, my pious friend, are the Bodhisattvas intent on what is infinite?"

"It is said":—

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[1] *Avasruta, cf.* Pali *avassuta* at *A.* I. 261, *Kāyakammaṃ pi avassutaṃ hoti,* "bodily action is saturated with lust" (see *Expositor,* I. 91).

[2] *Prasyandanti kāmeṣu,* literally "flow or trickle forth in desires," a figure of speech closely related to the use of *avasruta* above.

They do not aim at great wealth, the prosperity that comes through miserliness.[1] *Thus do these highest of men become intent on what is infinite.*

With all these twenty dispositions, the noble and true men, experienced in all things, are gifted with beautiful dispositions.

"With these twenty dispositions, then, my pious friend, are the Bodhisattvas endowed."

When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa asked the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana, "O son of the Conqueror in what ways do Bodhisattvas who are in their second *bhūmi* lapse and fail to reach the third ?[2]

The venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana replied to the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa, "Bodhisattvas who are in their second *bhūmi* lapse and fail to reach the third for twenty-eight reasons. What are the twenty-eight ? Bodhisattvas come to set a value on gain, honour, and fame.[3] They become dishonest. They build up prosperity by unjust means. They speak angrily to their teachers, and do not abide respectful[4] to the Triad of Treasures.[5] They do not look for a Bodhisattva's character in those they deem worthy of offerings. Though they have reached the stage of a Bodhisattva's career they do not duly honour it. They do not shoulder the burden which befits the highest honour, but continue under one which does not so

[1] Literally "miserly prosperity," *adānaguṇasampadāṃ* (acc. with two MSS. for the nom. of the text). With *adānaguṇa*, *cf.* Pali *adānasīla*, "of miserly character." Senart's interpretation is different : "ils ne désirent pas de grands biens, si ce n'est des trésors de charité et de vertu."

[2] The account of the lapsing of the Bodhisattvas after their first *bhūmi* (see p. 79) is quite intelligible, that is, Bodhisattvas who *have lived* (*sthitās*) through their first *bhūmi* lapse *in* the second. But lapses in succeeding *bhūmis* are not so clearly described. The expression used with regard to them is "Bodhisattvas who *are* (*vartamānās*) in a certain *bhūmi* lapse *in* (loc. case) the next." This leaves it obscure as to which *bhūmi* the faults are incurred in. Either we must not press too closely the present force of the participle *vartamānās*, but take it as practically equivalent to *sthitās* (above), or we must give the second locative *bhūmau* an ablatival force, *i.e.* those who have successfully lived through one *bhūmi* lapse *from* the next. The translation above is a compromise between these alternatives. Compare Har Dayal: *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature* who interprets the meaning as "fail to arise to (a succeeding *bhūmi*) and abide in it" (pp. 273 ff.).

[3] *Lābhaguruka*, etc. Senart cites a similar use of *guruka* in the *Lotus* f 14b. Compare also the use of the Pali equivalent *garuka* in such compounds as *kammagaruka*, "attributing importance to kamma" (*Pali Dict.*).

[4] *Citrikāra*, which Senart takes to be the Buddhist Sanskrit form, based on a false analogy, of the Pali *cittikāra*, "respect," "consideration."

[5] *I.e.*, Buddha, Dharma, Sangha.

befit.[1] They are not averse to dwelling in a crowd. They become fond of garlands, fine clothes, jewels and ointments. (90) They become satisfied with little merit. They find constant delight in the charm of the world. They do not regard all elements as impermanent. They become engrossed with their own corporeal beauty. They do not abandon perverted doctrines. They do not preserve intact the word and the letter as they have been preached. They become niggardly in their teaching.[2] They turn their eyes away from the almsman's bowl and get nothing in it. They become obstinate in their opinions.[3] They do not make a thorough scrutiny of things.

"My pious friend, all those Bodhisattvas in the second *bhūmi* who lapse and fail to reach the third, do so in these twenty-eight ways.

"Following is the tradition on this subject":

Such is the description of the second bhūmi *of the Bodhisattvas, who, with store of varied merits, live happy for the world's sake,*

Of both those who lapse through their faults, as related, and of those who, in their wisdom, do not lapse as they pass on from life to life.

Patient and wise they take the path of courage that is so difficult to traverse,[4] *and through many a tribulation they fare along it out of compassion for the world.*

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[1] The text here, if not corrupt, is at least obscure. *Atireka*, "excessive" is a strange epithet to apply to the "highest" honour, *i.e.*, enlightenment, which Bodhisattvas aim at. The force of *prāpyaṃ* and *aprāpyaṃ*, respectively, as applied to *bhāraṃ*, "burden," also is not clear. Senart translates them by "light" and "intolerable," respectively, "un fardeau léger (c'est à dire le fardeau de toutes les bonnes œuvres qui méritent l'intelligence suprème, fardeau relativement léger aux yeux d'un buddhiste, *etc*".—a weak explanation in view of the oft-repeated theme of the difficulty of attaining enlightenment, or supreme honour. It seems better, therefore, to take *prāpya* in its literal sense of "suitable," "fitting," "proper to," and naturally governing the dative °*pūjāye*.

[2] *Deśānāmatsarinas*. *Cf.* Pali *dhammamacchariyam* (*D*. 3. 234) "meanness in [monopolising learnt] truths" (Rhys Davids).

[3] *Kaṭhinasaṃtānās*—a very unusual compound. The usual figurative sense of *kaṭhina* ("stiff," "rigid," *etc.*) is "cruel," "hard" (*e.g.* of the heart). Here it is applied to "opinion" or "idea," if, that is, *saṃtāna* can have that sense, and Senart admits that he knows no other example of this use of the word. But may not the right reading be something like *kathaṃkathinas* "doubting," or *kathaṃkathāsamaptās*, "afflicted with doubt"?

[4] *Durāroham*, the adjective which also gives its name to the second *bhūmi*.

All these Tathāgatas who are honoured of devas and men pass through the manifold ills that precede knowledge.

Wisely they adapt themselves to the world with its divers elements, and so their renown goes forth in the worlds of devas and men.

Here ends the second *bhūmi* of the *Mahāvastu-Avādana*.

THE THIRD BHŪMI

(**91**)When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa asked the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana, " O son of the Best of Men, what state of heart exists in Bodhisattvas as they pass on from the second *bhūmi* to the third ? "

Then the elder Kātyāyana replied to Kāśyapa, "Hear what the unsurpassed state of heart of the Bodhisattvas is which links up[1] *the two* bhūmis.

" O venerable son of the Conqueror, the hearts of Bodhisattvas as they pass from the second bhūmi *to the third are set on renunciation ".*

These lords of men render happy the condition of all creatures ; but they do this in no wise for the sake of their own well-being, nor for the sake of enlightenment.

They buy one verse of a wise saying[2] *with the sacrifice of wife and child. . . .*[3]

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[1] *Sandhicitta*—a strange expression, the only parallel to which that is known to Senart is *sandhyābhāṣya* in the *Lotus*, translated by Burnouf (p. 343) as " le langage énigmatique." This parallelism, if it is anything more than formal, would require for the *Mahāvastu* expression some translation other than that given above. The term occurs too persistently to admit of any doubt as to its correctness. Now, the *Mahāvastu* does not define the temporal or spatial relations of the several *bhūmis*, but it would seem that there was conceived to be some intermediate stage between every two of them. As, then, the Bodhisattva's *citta*, or state or disposition of the heart, within each *bhūmi* is so fully described, it becomes necessary to describe his *citta* when he is in the intervening stage, or in process of passing from one *bhūmi* to another.

[2] *Subhāṣitā gāthā*—" a well-spoken verse."

[3] A lacuna, representing the second half of this stanza and that of the next one. The first half of the latter is evidently the introduction to a short tale which, on the analogy of the following, related an example of the Bodhisattva's self-sacrifice. But it is too fragmentary to be translated. The next two stanzas are the *subhāṣitā : gāthā :* which he won by this self-sacrifice.

"There are obstacles of jungle, of hostile forces, and of mountains, but the real obstacles for man are his fickle and restless passions[1] *which stifle charity.*

"There are obstacles of weeds, of undergrowth, of brambles and reeds, which choke trees, but the obstacles in the way of man are falsehood, guile and slander."

. . . .[2]

(92)*This single verse of a wise saying was bought by a Bodhisattva when he was yearning for the ultimate truth.*

. . .[3]

A certain brāhman approached a seer,[4] *a lord of men, and said to him, "I have here an exhilarating verse of a wise saying.*

"The price of it is your head." The seer, ready to sacrifice his head, replied, "Quickly tell me, brāhman, this verse of a wise saying."

[The brāhman recited]

"If those who yearn for a Bodhisattva's career, happen to commit an unseemly deed, it does not become manifest, being obscured by the force of abundant merit, as an oil-lamp is dimmed by the rays of the sun."

A rākṣasa[5] *said to a certain king named Surūpa, "I have here a stanza of a wise saying for sale, if you want to buy it.*

"As the price of it I would have your son, your queen and yourself to devour. Take it if you can, for this verse is compact with dharma."

King Surūpa, free from bondage to the world and full of reverence for dharma, replied, "Take what you want, and let me have the verse. Complete the bargain without delay."

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[1] *Vanāni*—an example of a play on words. *Vana* in the first line is taken literally in its sense of "jungle" or "forest," but here it is equated with Pali *vana* (from *vanati, vanoti*—"to desire")—"lust," "desire." It is a commonplace of Pali exegesis to explain the meaning of the first *vana* with reference to the second. See *Pali Dictionary, s.v.*

[2] A lacuna, representing probably the *gāthā subhāṣitā* referred to in the next stanza.

[3] The second stanza on this page is omitted as it is obviously corrupt. It forms a part only, and an obscure one at that, of the account of a transaction between a Bodhisattva and a snake-charmer, who has a *subhāṣitā gāthā* for sale.

[4] *Ṛiṣideva. Deva* can here be no more than an honorific term. *Ṛiṣi*, simply, is used below.

[5] One of a class of demons, generally haunting the water, and nocturnal and harmful in their habits.

(93)Then the *rākṣasa* recited this verse of a wise saying :—

"It is better to dwell in the hells that throb with lamentations[1] *where one meets people one wishes far away, and is separated from the people one loves, than in the society of wicked men."*

A piśāca[2] *said to a king's minister named Sanjaya, "Give me your heart and hear in return a verse of a wise saying."*

Without a tremor the brave Sanjaya replied, "I give you my heart. Speak that verse of a wise saying."

Then the *piśāca* recited this verse of a wise saying :—

"As the fire that burns when grass and wood are set alight never stops burning, so craving is never assuaged by indulgence in sensual pleasures."

A certain poor man said to a merchant named Vasundhara, "This verse of a wise saying will be given you in return for all you possess."

The Bodhisattva replied :—

"I give you all I have. Speak the verse of a wise saying. For the good praise what is well-spoken in accordance with true principles."

Then the poor man recited this verse of a wise saying :—

" When men are foolish plenty is changed to dearth. (94)*But a single wise man transforms dearth to plenty ".*

A certain man said to a king named Surūpa, "At the price of Jambudvīpa you may hear a verse of a wise saying."

The Bodhisattva replied :—

"I give you Jambudvīpa and all you desire. Quickly speak this verse of a wise saying, truly say what you will."

Then the man recited this verse of a wise saying :—

" When egotism, selfishness, passion[3] *and pride prevail, then Tathāgatas appear in the world to quell them ".*

A certain hunter said to a deer named Satvara, "I have here a verse of a wise saying. Give me your flesh and you shall hear it."

[The deer replied]

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[1] *Paridevitakampana,* an admittedly doubtful conjecture of Senart's.
[2] A demon, generally malignant.
[3] Reading *rāgo* for *nānā*. So Senart.

"If in return for my perishable flesh I can hear this wise saying, I give you it. Quickly utter the wise saying."

Then the hunter recited this verse of a wise saying :—

"The dust beneath their feet is better for men than a mountain of gold. The dust takes away sorrow, the mountain of gold multiplies it".

(95)*His slave said to a king named Nāgabhuja, "In return for the sovereignty of the four continents you may have a wise saying."*

The Bodhisattva replied :—

"I give you the sovereignty of the four continents. Quickly speak ; do not delay but tell me this wise saying."

Then his slave recited this verse of a wise saying :—

"They say that it is as difficult to distract the wisdom of the sage as it is to pluck out his hair by the roots. So the stainless company of monks, having won the power of knowledge, and, through their virtuous conduct, torn up malice by the root, shine with minds that are rid of malice. The stainless teacher of the world, also, shines, does not cast off his burden, and is followed by good men".

Thus for the sake of a wise saying a Bodhisattva hurls himself down precipices. For its sake, again, he gives up his boat on the wide ocean.

He sacrifices his eyes in return for hearing a verse of a wise saying. Again, he throws himself into the fire as the price of hearing a verse of wise saying.

And many other such arduous tasks do the valiant and glorious Conquerors undertake for the sake of words of wisdom.

(96)When this had been said the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa asked the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana, "Again, O son of the Conqueror, how do Bodhisattvas who are in the third *bhūmi* lapse and fail to reach the fourth ? "

The venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana replied to the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa, " My pious friend, Bodhisattvas who are in the third *bhūmi* lapse and fail to reach the fourth in fourteen ways. What fourteen ? They become addicted to dishonest gambling with the dice. They seek seclusion too often. When

they come to rule over their kingdoms they are overcome by avarice and rob their own subjects[1] of all their possessions. They accuse of murder people who do not deserve to be called into account for any offence. They do not protect those in danger of being killed. They mutilate men. They fall into erring ways. Even though they have wealth they do not dispense to others the means of life. And though they take up the religious life they do not learn by heart the great doctrine,[2] even while the Buddhas themselves teach it. Although they have already made a vow, they do not preach the great doctrine. They follow those who are bound to the flesh, not those who are bound to dharma. They do not repeatedly declare the splendour of the Buddha. They teach that Buddhas are of the world.[3] They do not teach that Buddhas transcend the world.

"In these fourteen ways, my pious friend, Bodhisattvas who are in the third *bhūmi* lapse and fail to reach the fourth. All Bodhisattvas who, being in the third *bhūmi*, have lapsed, are lapsing, or will lapse, do so in these fourteen ways. There is nothing more to add."

(97)When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa asked the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana, "Again, O son of the Conqueror, when the Bodhisattvas who do not lapse first evolve the thought of enlightenment, to what kind of well-being are they wedded, and how many creatures become happy and joyful ?"

The venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana replied in verse to the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa :

All creatures become happy and joyful when this incomprehensible, marvellous thought, instinct and permeated with the idea of the way of enlightenment, is born in the great seers.

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[1] *Atrāntareṇavijitavāsinām*, literally, "the conquered (or subject) inhabitants there within," *i.e.* the subjects of the country to the government of which he has been appointed. Senart considers *atra*° to be due to a faulty restitution of *atta*° for *ātma*°, and translates "les habitants de leurs propres territorie et de ceux des autres." But such a conjecture is quite uncalled for, as the MS. *atrāntareṇa*—"there within," makes satisfactory sense.

[2] *Bāhuśrutya*, abstract term from the adjective *bahuśruta*. Compare Pali *bāhusacca* (implying a Sanskrit *bāhuśrautya*) and *bahussuta*.

[3] Literally "they display the Buddhas on (for) an equality with the world," *lokasamatāye deśenti*. This was, of course, a heresy from the point of view of those Buddhists, the Lokottaravādins, whose especial scripture the *Mahāvastu* was.

Those who are under doom of death in seven nights,[1] *those who dwell in the pitiless hells, and those in the world of ghosts, all become glad and happy.*

For those seven nights, in sympathy with the Bodhisattva's virtue, men do not die. Earth, with its oceans, quakes, and the glittering summit of Mount Meru[2] *trembles.*

This earth as a rule remains fixed on its foundations, immovable in space. This is beyond doubt. But now, through the power of these beings who have laid up a store of all good deeds, this earth trembles in all its wide extent.

(98)Then a certain deva of Trāyastriṃśa, named Namatideva, who was a Bodhisattva, hitched his robe over one shoulder, and, stretching out his joined hands in the direction of the Exalted One, sang his praises in these verses in the presence of a throng of holy men.

Thee I praise, whose form, radiant as gold, with beauty uneclipsed by the newly risen sun and with lustrous splendour, is perfectly marked with all the thirty-two marks of men who live in the right way, thee I praise, who art supreme in goodness, full of splendour, mightier than the earth and its mountains, unsurpassed in strength, who art serene and self-controlled, skilled in mindfulness and the Discipline,[3] *and revered of Suras and Asuras.*

After many a course of life spread out over a long time, meritorious, conferring bounteous blessings, and aiming at the destruction of existences, the Sage, by means of divers praiseworthy merits previously achieved in plenty and variety through acts of goodwill, came near unto peace. But though he had found the eternal blissful abode that is honoured of Asuras and Suras, he renounced it for the sake of enlightening men. He came down to the surface of earth, was born in the family of Ikṣvāku,[4] *and stood in glory, immovable and firm.*

Desiring to enter the womb of Queen Māyā in the form of a noble lotus-white elephant, he, the light of the world,[5]

[1] Text and interpretation both doubtful.
[2] A mythical golden mountain at the centre of Jambudvīpa.
[3] I.e. the Vinaya or the collection of rules and regulations governing the conduct of Buddhist monks.
[4] Descended from Ikṣvāku, a son of Manu Vairasvata. See below p. 293.
[5] *Lokāloka.* *Cf.* note p. 37.

left the fair realm of Tuṣita, and came down to earth to raise up the people whom he saw were wanton and blind and who had succumbed to doubt and unrighteousness.

(99)*Then did the jewel-strewn earth, rich in varied treasure and wealth, quake in salutation to the great Sage, the lord of the Śākyans, who is rich in experience, replete with mindfulness, and well-stored with merit.*

Queen Māyā was on the terrace of her valiant husband's fair palace, like a goddess among the Suras, being entertained by merry dancing accompanied by songs and music that were a delight to ear, heart and eye.

To the anxious king the queen said, "My lord, if you will, I shall withdraw to the forest, to the Lumba[1] *park, which is carpeted with flowers, and filled with the sweet notes of the cuckoo which give joy to heart and soul."*

She went, and wandered forth with her women, roaming the forest, glad and happy and eager. While she paced the forest, she espied a lumbinī *tree bearing fresh creepers and shoots, and, in the rapture of perfect joy and gladness she grasped a branch of it, and playfully lingered there. As she held the branch she gave birth to the Conqueror of the unconquered mind, the great supreme seer.*

As soon as he is born devas, with two showers laden with exquisite flowers, the one cold the other warm, bathe the Lord of men, who is honoured in the realm of the Asuras, the great Lord of the three worlds,[2] *compassionate, the world transcending, a refuge here, in heaven and on earth, to whom old age and death are no more, whose like the earth does not know, who is wise, whose eyes are like a lotus-leaf, and who is the delight of Suras and Asuras.*

All the devas, the Trāyastriṃśa devas and the others, glad and joyful leave their abodes and gather together in the forest glade.(100) *"The scion of the Ikṣvākus" [they exclaim] "has come down to the earth's surface where he stands in glory, immovable and firm." When he had*

[1] In the tradition the name of this park is Lumbinī, but here the latter is the name of the tree. See immediately below.

[2] The reference here is simply to the three worlds of popular conception *viz.* the world above (*sc.* of the devas), the earth, and the world below (*niraya*), rather than to any of the groups of three planes or spheres of psychological experience.

taken seven full strides, like the lion, the master, king and lord of beasts, he roared out,[1] *"I am best, unsurpassed, supreme in the world. For me there is no more either old age or death. I have overcome the oppression of existence."*

A celestial sunshade studded with gems, clear as crystal and gay with flowers, brilliantly white like camphor, stood up of itself in the air, unsupported by hand, and shaded the Lord and Guide of men.[2] *A chowrie fan made in heaven, of stiff strong hair, having the incomparable sheen of mother-of-pearl, studded with gems and gold, and pearly white, is waved with its handle upwards.*

Loud roars of drums resound, echoing in the clouds and pervading the sky. In the path of Daśabala the Conqueror the devas pour down showers of celestial blossoms and powder of sandal-wood. Suras and devas give vent to hundreds of cries in their exceeding great joy. "The creator of happiness is victorious!"

In ocean and on earth hidden treasures of many precious stones were revealed as the earth and water heaved through the power of the Tathāgata.

Here ends the third *bhūmi* of the *Mahāvastu-Avadāna*.

THE FOURTH BHŪMI

(101) When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa asked the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana, "Again, O son of the Conqueror, what deeds do Bodhisattvas who are established in perseverance refrain from doing because they are out of place?[3].

[1] The text here is corrupt. The translation is made on the emendation suggested by Senart in his notes.

[2] Reading *nṛipatinayanaṃ* for °*tanayaṃ* of the text. Even though *tanayaṃ*, from *tan*, "to stretch," would seem at first sight appropriate here, it is difficult to see how the form could give the required sense, *i.e.* the sunshade "stretched over" the Lord of men shaded him. Note that one MS. actually has *nayanāṃ*.

[3] *Asthānatāye* (*na*) *samupacaranti*. The *na* is adopted from the reading of five MSS. Senart, however, rejects the negative, and translates "quelles actions . . . accomplissent pour avancer vers le but" [littéralement "pour ne pas demeurer en place"]. Below, line 7, Senart makes the obviously necessary correction of *asthānanto* into *asthānatāye*. *Na sevante* of this line corresponds closely with *na samupacaranti* of the passage in question, and it is not easy to see why Senart should reject the negative here and in so doing incur the necessity of giving a different sense to *asthānatā* in the two places respectively.

The elder Kātyāyana, skilled in the Conqueror's teaching, replied to the pious Kāśyapa in verse.

"Learn what deeds the Bodhisattvas practise, and what deeds they do not practise because they are out of place.

"The glorious Bodhisattvas do not deprive a mother or a father or an arhan of life.

"They do not create schisms in the Sangha, nor do they raze topes to the ground. They do not in any way harbour evil thoughts against a Tathāgata.

"They are not led to commit sin by their wrong belief.[1] *They do not have to expiate*[2] *a bad deed; what need, I pray you, to expiate a good one?*

"As they pass from one existence to another, they do not adhere to doctrine based on heresy, but only to the true doctrine or virtue based on knowledge.

"When they sit or lie in the shade of a tree they do not harm the leaves. Even in anger they do not resort to blows.

"These supreme men practise the ten right ways of behaviour.(**102**) *They do not weave a spell to strike the person of another man.*

"Wholly concerned with karma and detached from all excitement, they are not cast down by adversity nor elated by prosperity.

"In deed, in speech, in thought, their dispositions are wholly pure and their charity perfect.

"These men, honoured of the world, having reached the beginning of the eighth bhūmi *do not lapse, and they definitely cultivate good karma.*

"In all the other bhūmis, *from the first to the seventh, these supreme men cultivate mixed karma.*

"Cultivating such and other similar karma the mighty men pass through all the ten bhūmis *filled with compassion for the worlds."*

When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa asked the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana, "Again, O son of the Conqueror, do Bodhisattvas who do not lapse pass into states of desolation like ordinary men, or do they not? Do

[1] Reading, with Senart, *drṣṭhiye* for *prṣṭhiye*.
[2] *Nāśeti* (for *nāśayati*). Cf. Pali *nāseti* (with abl.) in same sense.

they, like ordinary men, pass into very low states, or do they not?"

The venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana replied to the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa, "Bodhisattvas, my pious friend, who are not liable to lapse, do not in the course of these seven *bhūmis*, in any way, for any reason, at any time, or by any chance, pass into a hell, nor are they reborn in a brute state, nor do they become poor(**103**) or infirm. But they become Brahmās, Pratyekabrahmās,[1] Indras, Upendras,[2] Yakṣa kings and Yakṣas, Nāgas and kings of Nāgas, Gandharvas and kings of Gandharvas, universal kings and kings of regions. They become chief counsellors, heads of merchant guilds, provincial chieftains, sons of kings and merchants and of a king's chief wife. They become valiant, courageous and powerful leaders. They become men who are esteemed, respected, saluted and obeyed. They become men who are dear to, beloved of, and popular with the multitude. They become men whom people praise and delight in. They become wealthy men, powerful men, with a large retinue, men of resolution and influence. If, as a result of reviling an Āryan[3] at any time or in any way while they are in one of the seven *bhūmis*, they incur rebirth in the great hell Avīci, they go to an especial part of it. They are not reborn among the perpetual ghosts, nor among the Asuras. They are not reborn as inferior animals nor in Uttarakuru,[4] nor as women,

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[1] The text has *brāhmaṇā* and *pratyekabrāhmaṇā*, but, as Senart rightly points out, we have to do here with "divine categories," and the reading should therefore be *brahmāṇā* and *pratyekabrahmāṇā*. "Brahmā" was a generic term for all the devas in Brahmaloka, the highest heaven, and generally referred to as *Brahmakāyikā* devas. The peculiar Buddhist treatment of the gods of Hinduism made them into celestial reincarnations of men, with the result that even Mahā-Brahmā himself was pluralised, the Pali texts mentioning several of them by name. Cf. below p. 84. In the same way, immediately below we read of Indras and Upendras. The term "Pratyekabrahmā" is a formation analogous with that of Pratyekabuddha, but though the Pali texts mention a few Pratyekabrahmās by name, no definition of this class of beings seems to be given anywhere. (See further *D.P.N.*, *s.v.* "Brahmaloka.")

[2] Upendra was a name for Viṣṇu or Kriṣṇa as a younger brother of Indra.

[3] *I.e.*, literally a member of an Aryan clan considered to possess superior moral qualities as compared with the indigenous tribes, and by implication denoting a Buddhist as being an Aryan *par excellence*. Hence "noble" in a moral sense, cf. "the four Aryan truths," *etc.*

[4] See note p. 7. Rebirth in this mythical land would not, from the description of it in Pali texts, seem to be on the whole a bad eventuality. Still, it was an inferior state to rebirth among the devas.

nor as eunuchs. Thus, then, in all the ten *bhūmis* they become men, and have all the limbs, great and small, and all the faculties of men, unimpaired.

"If a Bodhisattva slays another Bodhisattva, or a disciple of the Buddha, or one who has entered the stream,[1] or if those who are qualifying themselves[2] for the state of a Pratyekabuddha(**104**) slay an ordinary man, they go to hell.[3] Whether Bodhisattvas in the first seven *bhūmis* murder or rob or commit any utterly wrong act, none of these things can lead them to hell. And as for the wrong karma accumulated by Bodhisattvas before they make their vow, this, once they have evoked the thought of enlightenment, is hidden away like a troop of deer by a great rock.

"If a Bodhisattva has not attained the condition of heart to make a vow, this matures in him in the course of his second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh *bhūmis*,[4] at the cost of whatever pain in the head that may be involved."

When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa asked the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana, "Again, O son of the Conqueror, with what kind of homily do the Tathāgatas exhort Bodhisattvas who do not lapse, when, having won the favour of the Buddhas as laymen, they go forth to the homeless state?"

Then the elder Kātyāyana replied to Kāśyapa, "By means of discourses without illustrations, arranged in due order.

"The lords, learned in the Jātakas and other lore, preach to the concourse of Bodhisattvas self-control, charity, and restraint, as the qualities that bring a Bodhisattva's career to a great maturity.[5]

"The wise Tathāgata tells them too of Him, the supreme

[1] *Śrotāpanna*, Pali *sotāpanna*, the "stream" being, by a change of metaphor, identified with the "noble eightfold way." Or, "the stream" of dharma.

[2] *Viniṣṭha*. Senart doubts this reading as the prefix *vi* is neither found with nor is it apposite to the sense of, this participial adjective. He accordingly suggests *pari°* which is regular Sanskrit.

[3] This seems inconsistent both with what precedes and with what follows, and Senart's suggestion that the whole passage is an interpolation can be readily accepted.

[4] *Jātiṣu*, for *bhūmiṣu*. Here, at least, a *jāti*, "birth," of a Bodhisattva is synonymous with a *bhūmi*.

[5] Literally, "great maturity," *mahāpakaṃ*, shortened *metri causa* from *mahāpākaṃ*, is Senart's conjecture for the meaningless *sahāyakaṃ*. Or, should we not read *mahāphalaṃ*, "great fruition"?

of men, who for the sake of mankind's well-being, cultivates incomparable karma.

"He is styled 'Lord' by the Exalted One,[1] *and takes up a life of austerity based on knowledge.*(105) *A Bodhisattva like this is rare in the world. So does the Conqueror expound in his teaching."*

"It is in this and like manner, my pious friend, that the Buddhas teach dharma to the concourse of Bodhisattvas".

When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa asked the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana, "O son of the Conqueror, to what stage of his career as Bodhisattva are the events related by the Conqueror in the Jātakas to be assigned?"

Then[2] the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana replied, "My pious friend, the Jātakas related by the Conqueror go back to the eighth *bhūmi.*"

"From what point do Bodhisattvas begin to renounce all they possess, and make difficult sacrifices?"

"It is from the eighth *bhūmi* that Bodhisattvas begin to renounce all they possess and to make difficult sacrifices.

"From the eighth *bhūmi* onwards, my pious friend, Bodhisattvas are to be honoured with the honour due to a perfect Buddha.

"On this point it is said":—

From the eighth bhūmi *onwards, O son of the Conqueror, Bodhisattvas are to be looked upon as perfect Buddhas. For after that they do not lapse.*

Henceforth they are masters of the profound meditations[3] (106)*and their knowledge is purified.*

Henceforth they speak words that are founded on knowledge, and in their wisdom renounce life because of its vileness.[4]

Henceforth, whatever birth is pure that they do achieve, and whatever form is pure that do they win.

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[1] *Bhagavato.* Genitive for instrumental; or read *bhagavatā.*

[2] *Evamukte,* "when it has been so spoken" or "when this had been said." To avoid repetition, this phrase is left untranslated, or rendered "then" as here, in the ensuing dialogue, as often elsewhere.

[3] *Dhyāna,* Pali *jhāna,* described and explained below, pp. 127, 183.

[4] *Kucchattā,* explained by Senart as a pure Prakrit form, in virtue both of its inflexion *-ttā* for *-tvāt,* and of its stem *kuccha* for *kutsa.* The derived form *kucchatva,* a new formation for *kutsā,* does not appear to be found either in Sanskrit or in Pali.

Henceforth, they are born of whatever sex they wish, and as whatever kind of deva they wish.

Henceforth, as ascetic pilgrims,[1] *they become destroyers of existence; they abhor the pleasures of sense and extol release.*

Henceforth, they become the most excellent of eloquent men, pupils of the glorious perfect Buddhas, the devas above all other devas.

Thus are they bidden by the Buddhas, the preachers of dharma, at the moment of their passing away, "O wise men, teach dharma, and take up the banner of the seer."

Henceforth they train many to be arhans, and many to qualify for discipleship.

Henceforth, devas, Yakṣas, Guhyakas,[2] *follow the great being, the Bodhisattva, until they win back their true nature.*

Henceforth, the form of the Bodhisattvas is supreme in the world of men and devas, and unsurpassed are the lustre, the radiance, the fame and glory and might of the Bodhisattvas(**107**), *and hard to attain by the world.*

And though there are no Buddhas in the world at the time, the Bodhisattvas come to have the five super-knowledges.[3] *Perceiving the depravity of lusts, they extol renunciation of the world.*

Henceforth, devas, Asuras, and Brahmās, allured by their virtues, come to them with hands joined in adoration.

Such is the mode of life of the holy Bodhisattvas when they are in the eighth bhūmi.

When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa asked the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana, "O son of the Conqueror, what sort of dharma do Bodhisattvas who do not lapse preach to men, when they exercise the sway of universal kings? When there are no Buddhas in the world, with what sort

[1] *Tīrthika.* Usually in Buddhist Sanskrit this word has the bad connotation of "heretic," Pali *itthiya.* Senart cites *Lal. Vist.* 313. 19 for the use of *tīrtha,* in a good sense. The classical Sanskrit form *tīrthaka* means "worthy," "holy," "ascetic," *etc.*, but, of course, from the Hindu point of view.

[2] In the popular mythology demigods and guardians of Kuvera's wealth. From the root *guh,* "to hide."

[3] *Abhijñā.* Pali *abhiññā.* See note p. 201, where they are, however, as usually in the Pali texts, given as six in number. Generally the *Mahāvastu* makes them to be five. Cf. *S.* 2. 216.

of appeal do they win men? In what way[1] do they deal[2] with men?"

The venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana replied, "My pious friend, Bodhisattvas who do not lapse and are universal kings teach men dharma in this way. Intent upon the ten right ways of behaviour they proclaim to men: 'Do not kill nor steal. Safeguard the wives of other men. Eschew falsehood, treachery, cruelty, frivolous and senseless talk, covetousness, malevolence and heresy.' Laying up heaps of gold in front of their palaces, they declare,

Whoever is in need of anything let him take from this heap of gold.(**108**) *My riches were acquired righteously; do not, my friends, have any misgiving.*

I shall give you garlands, perfumes, incense and fragrant powder. Do not, my friends, be cast down, but be glad.

When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa asked the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana, "Through what kinds of deeds do Bodhisattvas who are universal kings become possessed of the seven treasures?"

The venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana replied in verse:—

I shall relate how the valiant man, the king of the four continents, the wealthy lord, wins the seven treasures.

As the result of former meritorious conduct, the noble man wins the treasure of the wheel that shines like the orb of the newly-risen sun, and is lovely in all its ten-hundred spokes.

With honest intent[3] he dispenses charity that serves to help. Thus he wins the invincible and triumphant wheel that knows no obstacle.

He wins the wondrous treasure of the seven-limbed elephant that is lily-white like a mass of snow, and swift like the strong wind.

He destroys his foes, and thus makes safe the way in dangerous places. Thus does he win the fair treasure of the elephant that moves with the speed of a bird.

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[1] Read *kevarūpaṃ* for *kevarūpām*. So Senart.

[2] Read *na . . . upekṣante*, for *ca . . . upekṣante*, i.e. "[do] not ignore." *Ca* gives a sense contrary to the tenour of the passage.

[3] Read °*sankalpo* for °*sankalpe*.

Through his store of merit acquired by good deeds well done, the king wins also the treasure of the well-trained horse, that is black as a bee, with a golden mane streaming in the wind.

(**109**)*In his covered waggon*[1] *he has carried a mother, a father, and a venerable teacher, and for this good deed the king wins the wondrous treasure of the horse.*

. . .[2]

In a former existence the king was temperate in his enjoyment of his wife, and for this he wins the treasure of the woman.

The noble king, great in self-control, wins also the treasure of the householder who is wealthy, opulent, and plentifully supplied with a store of riches.

Because he has given of his stores of wealth to venerable teachers out of respect for them, the king wins therefore the treasure of the wealthy householder.

The mighty lord, free from desire, wins also the fair treasure of the counsellor, who is a wise leader, prudent and skilled, who is the guiding standard of the four continents.

In that he, having entered upon the Way himself, has shown the Way to the blind and the lost, he therefore wins the peerless excellent treasure of the counsellor.

It is by these deeds, my pious friend, that the treasures are won, and it is in such righteousness that the king rules the earth.

(**110**)When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kāśyāpa asked the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana, " O son of the Conqueror, in what ways do Bodhisattvas, who have conceived the thought of enlightenment for the first time while in the fourth *bhūmi*, lapse and fail to reach the fifth ? "

The venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana replied, " In seven ways. What seven ? They become corrupters of nuns, of men, and of eunuchs. By the power of spells they cause unnatural disease in others. They seduce good men from virtue. They

[1] *Hayana*, so Senart, after the *Amarakoṣa* (187. 4).

[2] The first line of the first of the two couplets which, on the analogy of the rest of the passage, should be devoted to the treasure of the " jewel," is followed, after a lacuna in the text, by the second line of the first couplet on the treasure of the woman. Because of this confusion, the two lines are omitted in translation.

become shameless and unscrupulous.[1] In these seven ways, my pious friend, do Bodhisattvas who for the first time, while they are in the fourth *bhūmi*, evolve the thought of enlightenment, lapse and fail to reach the fifth ".

> *Thus, then, O son of the Sugata, you have had explained to you the delectable fourth* bhūmi *of the Bodhisattvas whose goal is enlightenment.*

Here ends the fourth *bhūmi* of the *Mahāvastu-Avadāna.*

THE FIFTH BHŪMI

When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa asked the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana, " O son of the Conqueror, what is the state of heart of the Bodhisattvas which links[2] the two *bhūmis*, as they who do not lapse advance from the fourth *bhūmi* to the fifth ? "

The venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana replied, " They see all existences inflamed by passion, hatred, and folly, and accordingly the state of heart that links the two *bhūmis* and brings them to the fifth immediately after the fourth is one full of despair and disgust."

Then the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa asked the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana, "Again,(**111**) O son of the Conqueror, what were the names of the Buddhas worshipped by the Exalted One when he was in his fifth *bhūmi* ? What were their families ? How large were the assemblies of their disciples ? What radiance was theirs ? And how long was the span of their lives ? "

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[1] *Anotrāpiṇas*, corresponding to the Pali *anottāpin*, alternative form for *anottappin*, a negative adjective from *ottappa*. Senart, as against Childers and the *P.T.S. Dictionary*, derives *ottapa* from *apatrapya*, *apa* first weakening into *ava* = *o*. The latter form is found in *Mahāvastu*, 3.53 and in *Daśabhūmīśvara*, fo. 19[a]. The " r " in the Sanskrit *anotrāpin* is, therefore, according to Senart, an example of " l'heureuse rencontre d'une restitution faite à l'aveugle." The root *trap*, which literally means " to be ashamed," certainly seems to suit the sense of this derivative better than *tap* used in a metaphoric sense, " to be tormented by remorse." Besides, the Pali verb *ottappati* is difficult to explain as being from or for *uttappati* (so *P.T.S, Dictionary*), for there is nothing to justify the modification of *ut* (*ud*)- into *ot*-. But both the form and meaning are explicable on the supposition that this verb is derived from *apa* (= *ava* = *o*) + *trap*.

[2] See note p. 72.

The venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana replied in verse :—

There was a noble Conqueror, styled the Śākyan Seer, who had a following of a koṭi *of saints. His radiance extended one fathom. He was massive like a mountain crag, gleaming like a mountain of gold. And he was a destroyer of his foes.*

At that time the span of life of the Supreme Man was six thousand years. His name was Yaśavrata, and he was beneficent and enlightened.

By family he was a Gotama, and this present Exalted One was then a merchant's son, who, when he made the Buddha an offering of rice-gruel, made a vow in his presence.

Saying, "Since I have laid up a store of merit by giving all[1] *to the holy Sangha, may I become one who will realise the ultimate good. May my merit be unimpaired."*

Then there was the beneficent valiant man, named Sudarśana, who had come down to his last existence on earth. He was of the family of Bhāradvāja, and his radiance extended ten yojanas.

This choicest of beings had a following of a koṭi *of saints. At that time the life of Māra's vanquisher was ten thousand years.*

(**112**)*Now there was a universal king, by name Dharaṇīṃdhara, who thus spoke to the Conqueror Sudarśana and his community of disciples. Thus did that wise man speak: "I give (to thee and the Sangha) all that is necessary to your comfort." And then the king made the following vow, saying, "May I become like unto thee."*

"May I be active in leading across men who have entered upon the ocean of old age and death. . . ."[2]

Then there was an Exalted One with a sound root of merit, named Nareśvara, of the Vāsiṣṭha family, whose radiance extended ten yojanas.

He had a retinue of twelve koṭis *of saints, and the span of men's lives was then nine thousand years.*

Now there was a universal king named Aparājita. With devotion in his heart he thus addressed the Daśabala, the lord of men :—

[1] *Saṃśliṣya*, " complètement, comprenant tout " (Senart).
[2] Lacuna.

"I give to thee, Lord, these eighty-four monasteries,[1] *with their corners bright with the seven precious stones, and adorned with many gems."*

And when he had offered this gift to the lord of men, he made his vow saying, "May I become like unto thee. May I win the Conqueror's powers."

Once on a time there was a king's minister, named Vijaya, and the Conqueror of that time was named Suprabha.(**113**) *The latter belonged to the Kāśyapa family, and his radiance extended ten* yojanas.

His community of disciples consisted of ten koṭis *of men who had shed their passions. At that time the span of man's life was twenty-thousand years.*

Vijaya greeted and invited the noble Conqueror, the destroyer of existences. The Daśabala accepted, and Vijaya was thrilled with joy.

Vijaya regaled him with the choicest, most excellent, and sweetest of foods, and following this duly made his vow, saying :—

"May I become like unto thee, honoured of the best men, and a benefactor of devas and men. Thus may I become a noble guide, a Daśabala, and a tiger in eloquence."

Once on a time there was a Buddha, a Tathāgata, named Ratanaparvata. He was a Gotama by family, and his radiance extended ten yojanas.

He had a retinue of thirty koṭis *of men whose minds were well-controlled. The span of man's life was then twenty-thousand years.*

Now there was at that time a universal king named Acyuta, who, embracing the Conqueror's feet, thus addressed the supreme of devas and men :—

"O thou elephant among men, I have eighty-four thousand palaces.(**114**) *These in all their splendour I give to thee and thy community of disciples."*

The king was exultant when he saw (*that the Conqueror*)[2] *was willing to accept, and he made his vow accordingly in*

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[1] *Vihāra,* in its later sense of a large building or monastery. Cf. note p. 30.

[2] Lacuna in the text.

the presence of him who bore the marks of excellence, saying :—

"By the merit of this good deed, may I become an unfailingly strenuous performer of good deeds which heap up merit, and a protector of the unprotected."

There was a perfect Buddha, named Kanakaparvata, whose mind was unsullied by anything in heaven or earth, and who was honoured by men. His family was named Kauṇḍinya.

His radiance, born of fair deeds, extended six yojanas, *and he had a retinue of five* koṭis *of saints.*

. . .[1]

Now there was at that time a universal king, named Priyadarśana, who was resplendent with the seven treasures of royalty, sovereign over the four continents, and protector of the earth.

Accompanied by his counsellors, and his women wearing their necklaces of pearls, he fell at the lovely feet of the Buddha Kanakaparvata, and implored him saying,

"I have a kingdom full of cities and towns, the four wealthy great continents. Ungrudgingly I give these to thee, O hero, and to thy community of disciples.

(115) *Whatever food is befitting to seers, whatever garments, whatever kinds of medicine, whatever couches and seats, all these are to be found in my fair palace.*

"O most comely one, in thy compassion have pity on me who have dispensed all the things, of twelve kinds,[2] that are the requisites of monks."

After the excellent prince[3] had made this gift he duly made

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[1] The text of the stanza giving the length of man's life is very corrupt, and no attempt has been made to translate it.

[2] *Paribhojyaṃ dvādaśākāraṃ*, evidently referring to the original four requisites (*pratyaya*, Pali *paccaya*) of a monk's daily life, namely, robe, alms-bowl, seat and bed, and medicine, *plus* the other, and later, set of eight requisites (*pariṣkāra*, Pali *parikkhāra*), which consisted of the three robes, a bowl, razor, needle, girdle, and a water-strainer.

[3] *Pārthivalambaka.* Although there is no manuscript authority here for the emendation, *lambaka* of the text has been changed to *lañcaka*. At 2. 421, where *lañcaka* occurs again, some MSS. have *lambaka*. The former, although its exact sense is obscure, is usually rendered by translators from Pali, by "excellent." As, however, it seems to be a derivative of *lañca*, "gift," "present," it might be translated as "boon (of princes)," and this sense seems an appropriate one in the compound word in which it is generally found in the *Mahāvastu*, viz. *naralambaka* which is throughout read *naralañcaka* "a boon for men" (see pp. 122, 123, 150). Note, also, that Trenckner (*Miln.* p. 424) translates *lañcaka* as "excellent gift," thus combining the two ideas.

his vow with a glad heart in the presence of the perfectly virtuous one, saying :—

"May I become a noble leader having a keen discernment of the ultimate good, and gifted with perfect skill, one who has destroyed all the bases of existence."[1]

There was an Exalted One, who bore the thirty-two marks and was named Puṣpadanta. He was of the Vatsa family and was a perfect Buddha who had sight of the ultimate good.

This most excellent Conqueror had a radiance extending nine yojanas. *Thirty-four* koṭis *of saints attended upon this Daśabala.*

The span of man's life was then fifty-thousand years, and thus there was no occasion for doubt as to what was then taught.

Now there was at that time a king, a lord of men, named Durjaya, who with his train of followers approached Puṣpadanta and bowed at his feet.

(116)*Raising his joined hands, the king serenely addressed Puṣpadanta, saying, "May the Daśabala deign to be gracious and live on my store of food for seven days*[2]*."*

When the king, invinciblein majesty and might,[3] *saw that the Daśabala consented, he covered the ground with bright carpets of golden cloth.*

Thereon he set down resplendent bejewelled couches, and laid out richly varied food of the most exquisite fragrance.

Eight-hundred individual devas and men[4] *in magnificent attire and gay adornment held up sunshades sparkling with the seven precious stones.*

So that for each saint they reverently[5] *held up a gem-studded sunshade that was radiant and spotless, like the moon or a disc of mother-of-pearl. When he had thus regaled the Sugata named Puṣpadanta and his followers, the king duly made this vow in his mind :—*

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[1] See p. 199.

[2] According to a regulation at *V.* 4. 87 no more than a seven days' supply of food could be stored at one time, and it must be eaten within that period. (The translator owes this reference to Miss I. B. Horner.)

[3] Reading *durjayarddhibala,* on Senart's suggestion, for *durjayordhvabala.*

[4] *Naramarūṇaṃ . . . puruṣā.*

[5] Reading *hirimanā* for *hṛidimano.* So Senart.

"May I become a perfect Buddha like thee, and preach dharma to devas and men. . . ."[1]

There was a perfect Buddha, who bore the thirty-two marks and was named Lalitavikrama, an Exalted One, a destroyer of existence, one who had shaken off the lusts. He belonged to the Vāsiṣṭha family.

The radiance emitted from his body extended thirty-two yojanas(**117**) *and this most excellent of men had a retinue of thirty* koṭis *of saints.*

The span of man's life was then eighty-four thousand years. Now there was at that time a king named Caturangabala, who was beloved and popular.

This guardian of earth built forty koṭis *of palaces made of many precious stones, and one palace besides of pre-eminent beauty.*

The king also caused to be made an abundance of couches and seats of faultless workmanship, and prepared the requisites of food and medicines befitting seers.

When the king had offered all this to the Exalted One and his community of disciples he joyfully and duly made his vow in the presence of the Daśabala, saying,

"The Daśabala is one whose like is hard to find; he is incomparable. He crushes old age, death and doubt. May I, too, become supreme among devas and men, and confuse the talk of the vulgar herd."

There was an Exalted One who bore the thirty-two marks, named Mahāyaśas, of the Kāśyapa family. He was of wide renown and boundless fame.

The radiance of the body of this virtuous one extended fifty yojanas, *and he had a retinue of fifty-five* koṭis *of saints.*

The span of man's life was then eighty-four thousand years, (**118**)*and this four-fold race of men was then eighty-four-fold.*

Now there was at that time a king named Mṛigapatisvara, a lord of the four continents, unsurpassed in his abounding might, whose wheel was invincible.

For ninety-six yojanas *this king had the branches of the forest trees decked out with jewels and hung with fine tapestry.*

[1] Lacuna.

The surface of the earth he made radiant and resplendent with beryl, and he rendered it fragrant with aloe wood, and strewed it with sweet-smelling flowers.

There for seven days the protector of the earth, with devotion in his heart, regaled the lion-voiced valiant man with abundant food.

Then in gladness he offered that heavenly forest as a place of rest by day[1] *to the Daśabala, the choicest of all beings.*

And when he had made his gift to Mahāyaśas and his community of disciples, the king in ecstasy of heart duly made his vow, saying,

"May I become honoured by the multitude, self-dependent, not led by another ; may I become omniscient. By this deed of merit of mine, may I become mighty with a Tathāgata's strength."

There was a Conqueror named Ratanacūḍa, who was richly endowed with powerful merit, a skilful guide, (119) *having deep dark eyes, with an incomparable store of virtue, and wise.*

The radiance of his body extended one hundred yojanas *all around. The All-seeing One of that time belonged to the Bhāradvāja family.*

He had a Sangha of ninety-nine koṭis *of men who had shaken off the defilements. The span of man's life was then eighty-four thousand years.*

Now there was at that time a universal king, lord of the four continents, holding sway over all the earth.[2] *He was named Maṇiviṣāṇa, and he governed men in righteousness.*

This protector of earth built for Ratanacūḍa ninety-two koṭis *of* nayutas *of palaces of varied design.*

And he feasted the gold-like Ratanacūḍa, the honoured of devas and men, and his followers for ten years without wearying.

The first day that he feasted the Sugata and his community of disciples the prince of men presented these noble palaces to the Virtuous One.

When the king had made this gift to the Great Man,[3] *with devotion in his heart he duly made his vow in the Conqueror's presence, saying,*

[1] *Divāvihāra*, cf. notes pp. 30, 89.
[2] *Mahisthāmo.*
[3] *Mahāpudgala.*

"May I safely lead across all men who have fallen into the great flood of recurrent birth, having myself burst through the toils of illusion, with peace in my heart, and with my mental power free from attachment to the world."

Thus, the lion-hearted Buddhas in the fifth bhūmi *were innumerable,*(**120**) *as were also Pratyekabuddhas, those in training, and the adepts, the disciples of the Conqueror. All these and other Tathāgatas as well were worshipped by the Exalted One, and it is thus that he laid up the root of goodness for the sake of the whole world's welfare.*

When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa asked the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana, "O son of the Conqueror, in what ways do Bodhisattvas who have made a vow to win enlightenment, while they are in the fifth *bhūmi*, lapse and fail to reach the sixth ?" The venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana replied, "O son of the Conqueror and my pious friend, there are four ways in which Bodhisattvas who have made a vow to win enlightenment in the fifth *bhūmi*, lapse and fail to reach the sixth. What are the four ways ?

"Though the Bodhisattvas have taken up the religious life on the Buddha's instruction, they yet join forces with the Yogācāras.[1] Hankering after the sensations which are abjured by a convert,[2] they turn away in fear from self-development.[3] They live perpetually inattentive to the cultivation of calm and introspective insight,[4] and they inevitably train their thought to be fixed on objects of perception.[5]

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[1] It is worth noting that the Yogācāras formed one of the great schools or sects of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

[2] *Aṣṭamaka.* Of this word Senart says, " Je ne puis rien faire de *aṣṭamaka,*" and he proposes to read *aṣṭāngika*, making the reference to be to the " eightfold way." *Aṣṭamaka*, however, is clearly the Pali *aṭṭhamaka*, thus defined in the *P.T.S. Dictionary* : " the eighth of eight persons who strive after the highest perfection, reckoned from the first or Arahant. Hence the eighth is he who stands on the lowest step of the Path, and is also called a *sotāpanna*." For the moral attainments of such a person, see *Kvu.* 243 ff. *Aṣṭamake*, locative case, does not admit of translation without doing undue violence to the use of cases, although the case suits Senart's emendation into *aṣṭāngike*. The right emendation, however, would seem to be the simple one of reading *aṣṭamakadhutavedanāgriddhā* as one compound word, which would thus give the above translation.

[3] *I.e.* development by means of mental application, *bhāvanā*.

[4] The negative required by the sense in this sentence may be supplied by resolving the compound word to read °*abahulāśca*.

[5] *Ālambaṇa*, with *ṇ* on the analogy of Pali *ārammaṇa*, meaning the " perceived object", the relation of which to the perceiving subject may be said to constitute consciousness.

"All the Bodhisattvas, my pious friend, who, having vowed to win enlightenment in the fifth, lapse and fail to reach the sixth *bhūmi*, have done so, do so, and will do so, in these four ways.

> *Thus, my friend, the fifth* bhūmi *of Bodhisattvas whose merits are many and various, has been expounded and illustrated.*

Here ends the fifth *bhūmi* of the *Mahāvastu-Avadāna*.

THE SIXTH BHŪMI

> (121)*Then the elder Kāśyapa asked Kātyāyana, "What is the state of heart of the wise Bodhisattvas in the fifth* bhūmi ?"[1]

The elder Kātyāyana, the sage, replied to the pious Kāśyapa in verse :—

> *That the vortex of the world holds little delight, but is exceeding painful (is the thought that) is (in them as they pass from the fifth to the sixth* bhūmi).[2]

When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa asked the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana concerning the " field " of a Buddha.[3]

> *Then the elder Kātyāyana said to Mahā-Kāśyapa, "Hear what the field of the saviours of the world is in its true essence.*
> *"And I shall tell you, too, noble sir, what the* upakṣetra[4]

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[1] The *citta* or state of heart or mind meant here must be the same as that elsewhere (see p. 72) described as *sandhicitta*, for we have to do now with the passage from the fifth *bhūmi* to the sixth.

[2] The words in brackets represent a lacuna in the text. They are supplied in translation on the basis of the assumption made in footnote 1, p. 72, and by analogy with the parallel passages on pp. 72, 87.

[3] This passage is defective ; the only part of the question that remains is the word *kṣetramiti*. The " field " (*kṣetra*, Pali *khetta*) is thus described by Buddhaghoṣa in *Vism.* 414 : *Buddhakkhettam nāma tividham hoti, jātikkhettam, āṇākkhettam, visayakkhettam,* " The field of a Buddha is of three kinds ; the field of his birth, the field of his authority, and the field of his sphere."

[4] From its form the word *upakṣetra* might be expected to denote a subdivision of the *kṣetra*, rather than an area four times its size, as it is defined below. There is no reference elsewhere to the *upakṣetra*, unless it is meant to denote one of the three fields mentioned in the preceding note.

of these men of perfect eloquence is. Pay heed to these words of mine and to my teaching.

"A Buddha's field is proved to be sixty-one systems of three thousand worlds, and an upakṣetra *is to be understood as being four times this."*

When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa asked the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana, "Again, O son of the Conqueror, do Buddhas appear in all Buddha-fields, or do they appear in some only ? "

The venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana replied to the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa in verse :—

Here and there is a field that is not empty of those whose form is peerless.(122) *But many* koṭis *of* nayutas *of fields are empty of the pre-eminent men.*

Of a truth, rare is the appearance of Him who bears the marks of excellence, who has won perfect knowledge at the end of a long time, who is adept in the consummate dharma, who is of great glory, and who is a being mindful of the welfare of all creatures.

When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa asked the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana, "Again, O son of the Conqueror, what is the cause, what is the reason, that in any one field two Buddhas do not arise ? "

The venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana replied to the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa in verse :—

It is the very nature of the Buddhas to achieve the whole difficult task of a Buddha that is set the heroic men.

If one man of vision were not equal to the conditions of Buddhahood, then two great-hearted Tathāgatas would be expected to appear.

But men reject this notion of the inadequate nature of the great seers, and hence two valiant men are not born in one and the same field.

No one has ever heard that the Best of Men, sons of the Conqueror, have in times gone by passed away with their Buddha-tasks undone.

(123)*The Buddhas, supreme of men, whether of the future, or of the past, or of the present, only pass away when they have fulfilled their Buddhahood.*

When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa asked the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana, " O son of the Conqueror, how many other Buddha-fields are there at the present moment where Buddhas now preach dharma ? "

The venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana replied to the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa in verse :—

In the eastern quarter of the world there is a well-laid-out Buddha-field, where abides the supreme Conqueror named Mṛigapatiskandha.

In the eastern quarter of the world there is a healthy Buddha-field, where abides the Conqueror with the thirty-two marks, named Siṃhahanu.

In the eastern quarter of the world there is a resplendent Buddha-field, where abides the all-seeing great Seer, named Lokaguru.

In the eastern quarter of the world there is a secure Buddha-field, where the Master named Jñānadhvaja teaches men.

In the eastern quarter of the world there is a bright Buddha-field, where abides the Conqueror, named Sundara, who is radiant like the golden bimba.[1]

In the southern quarter of the world there is a Buddha-field that is full of palm-trees. There abides the Buddha named Anihata, who is the joy of devas.

In the southern quarter of the world there is a pleasant Buddha-field, where abides the great Seer, the Buddha Cārunetra.

(124)*In the southern quarter of the world there is a Buddha-field free from all impurity. There abides the Guide, the Buddha named Mālādhārin.*

In the western quarter of the world there is a Buddha-field that is free from strife.[2] *There abides the Buddha, the destroyer of existence, named Ambara.*

In the northern quarter of the world there is a pleasant Buddha-field, where abides the Buddha named Pūrṇacandra, learned in the sacred lore.

In the nadir of the world there is a securely-fixed Buddha-

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[1] " The red fruit of Momordica monadelpha, a species of amaranth." (*P.T.S. Dictionary*.)

[2] ? Or " incorporeal," *avigraha*.

field, where abides the Buddha, the Tathāgata, named Dṛiḍhabāhu.

In the zenith of the world there is an unshaken Buddha-field, where abides the Buddha named Mahābhāga, a destroyer of his foes.

There are besides thousands of other Buddha-fields, and yet other thousands, of which one cannot reach the end in enumerating.[1]

Thousands of empty Buddha-fields which one does not know where to begin counting,[2] *and thousands of universes of three-thousand worlds.*

As the beginning of the round of rebirth is not known, so neither is that of the universes.

One does not know where to begin counting the number of past Buddhas, nor of those who vow to win enlightenment.

Nor the number of those who are incapable of lapsing, nor of those who achieve consecration as kings.

(125)*Nor the number of those who dwell in Tuṣita, nor of those who pass away from there.*

Nor the number of those who lie in their mother's womb, nor of those who stand there.

Nor the number of the heroes who are being born, nor of the world-saviours who have been born.

Nor the number of those who are taken on their mothers' laps, nor of those who take the mighty strides.

Nor the number of those who laugh aloud, nor of those who survey the regions of the world.

Nor the number of those who are borne in their mothers' laps, nor of those who are adopted by Gandharvas.[3]

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[1] Literally, "the other end of which is not known," *koṭī na prajñāyate 'parā.*

[2] *Koṭī na prajñāyate 'ntarā,* literally, "the inner end (or starting-point) is not known." In the succeeding stanzas this is expressed by *pūrvā koṭī,* "the point farthest back," *i.e.* the beginning. See *P.T.S. Dictionary* s.v, *koṭi.* The latter phrase is translated where it first occurs; subsequently, to avoid a jingling repetition, it is represented by "nor the number of" and "nor."

[3] In Buddhist mythology the lowest class of devas. Here and elsewhere in the *Mahāvastu* (*e.g.* 1. 204) we find them attending the newly born Buddha. This is possibly a reflect of one of their functions in Hindu mythology, where Gandharva, their eponym, as parent of Yama and Yamī presided over marriage. The idea, however, that in Buddhist mythology they were regarded as presiding over conception has been shown to be wrong. See *D.P.N. s.v.*

Nor the number of those who leave their homes, nor of those who approach the bodhi *tree.*

Nor the number of those who achieve the knowledge of a Tathāgata, nor of those who set rolling the wheel of dharma.

Nor the number of those who convert koṭis *of beings, nor of those who roar the lion's roar.*

Nor the number of those who shed the elements of sentient life,[1] *nor of those heroes who pass entirely away.*

(126)*Nor the number of those who lie in entire release, nor of the heroes who are cremated.*

Know then that this is the truth concerning the total number of the Masters, and concerning the fields in which a Buddha now and then appears.

When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa asked the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana, " O son of the Conqueror, if there are so many Buddhas, and each one of them leads an infinite number of beings to entire release,[2] then in no long a time they will have enabled all beings to win it. Thus this world will become absolutely empty, completely denuded of beings."

The venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana replied to the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa in verse :—

Suppose empty space everywhere become full without a gap, suppose space that is without foundation and support be inhabited in all its extent.

Numerous though these worlds might be, still more numerous would be the average worldlings therein to be taught by Him who has insight into the highest good.

Whence, then, can there be a limit to the countless beings who listen to the teaching of the Supreme of men? Thus has the great Seer proclaimed the truth.

When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa

[1] *Āyu : saṃskāra. Saṃskāra* is the Pali *sankhāra,* " one of the most difficult terms in Buddhist metaphysics ". (*P.T.S. Dictionary*). These elements or components may be viewed from two aspects : (1) as conditioning present sentient life, and (2) as forming the potentiality of rebirth into another life. *Cf. D.* 2. 106 *sato sampajāno āyu-saṃkhāraṃ ossaji* (Trans. *Dial.* 2, p. 113 —" he deliberately and consciously let go (interest in) life's conditions ". Footnote *ibid.* : The difficult term *āyu-saṃkhāraṃ* must here have the meaning in which it is used at *M.* 1. 295—6 ; *S.* 2. 266 ; *J.* 4. 215.)

[2] Literally " causes to pass entirely away," *parinirvāpayati.*

asked the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana(**127**) "O son of the Conqueror, in what ways do Bodhisattvas, who have vowed to win enlightenment in the sixth, lapse and fail to reach the seventh *bhūmi*.

The venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana replied to the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa: "There are two ways, my pious friend, in which Bodhisattvas, who have vowed to win enlightenment in the sixth, lapse and fail to reach the seventh *bhūmi*. What two? They envy those who have won cessation of perception and feeling,[1] and at the very time that there are consummate Buddhas in the world, possessing full comprehension of the truth, and each declaring, "I am the great-hearted bringer of peace," they do not[2] listen reverently and attentively to the divine beings. All Bodhisattvas, my pious friend, who have lapsed, are lapsing, and will lapse and fail to reach the seventh *bhūmi*, after living in the sixth, do so in these two ways."

Such, then, is the sixth bhūmi *of the virtuous lion-like Bodhisattvas, the benefactors of men, the great seers.*

Here ends the sixth *bhūmi* of the *Mahāvastu-Avadāna*.

THE SEVENTH BHŪMI

When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa asked the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana, "My pious friend, what is the state of heart, linking the two *bhūmis*, of Bodhisattvas who do not lapse, as they advance from the sixth *bhūmi* to the seventh?

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[1] The translation here follows Senart's rectification of a somewhat perplexing text. *Saṃjñāvedayitanirodhasamāpattiyo* must be taken as a *bahuvrīhi* compound, "those who have the attainment of the cessation of perception and feeling." Har Dayal, however (*op. cit.* p. 274), takes it as a *tatpuruṣa*, and translates "[they desire] to attain the trance of the cessation-of-perception-and-feeling." "Desire" will do as a translation of *spṛihayanti*, but the case of °*samāpattiyo* would require explanation. Presumably he takes it as genitive singular governed by *spṛihayanti*. The chief objection to this translation, however, lies in the fact that it classifies as a fault what is a Buddhist virtue.

[2] As Senart points out, this sentence, in order to be intelligible, requires a *na* before the verb *śṛiṇvanti*.

The venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana replied to the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa in verse :—

> *The mind of the supreme benefactors of mankind is bent on self-control. Such is their state of heart that links the two* bhūmis *as they advance to the seventh.*

(128) When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa asked the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana, " O son of the Conqueror, with what quality of act of body, do Bodhisattvas who do not lapse become endued from the first *bhūmi* onwards ? With what quality of act of speech, with what quality of act of thought ? In short, with what quality of being do they become endued ? "

The venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana replied to the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa, " From the first *bhūmi* onwards these are the acts of Bodhisattvas who do not lapse. They preach and commend abstention from murder. They praise beings in the various *bhūmis* who are so disposed and who do not henceforth in any way, even when associated with evil companions, deprive living things of life. After passing through the first seven *bhūmis*, they conceive pity for those beings who have a hard lot to bemoan. They apply themselves to the practice of morality. They renounce their kingdoms or whatever sovereignty is theirs. They go forth from home into the homeless state, and they constantly preach the dharma of abstention from murder.

" Once upon a time, my pious friend, when he was in his seventh *bhūmi*, this Perfect Man was a king named Kuśa. His queen was named Apratimā, she who has since become Yaśodharā, the mother of Prince Rāhula. He who is now the wicked Devadatta was then a regional king,[1] named Jaṭhara. When Jaṭhara heard of Queen Apratimā, the passion of desire seized his mind, and he sent a messenger to King Kuśa, saying :—

> *Give me your consort Apratimā, let her become my wife. If you give her not, then get your forces ready to fight.*
>
> *Send me a message, O king, to acquaint me of your choice.* **(129)** *If you do not, so will you and your kingdom fall into my power.*

[1] *Pradeśarājā*, as distinguished from a *cakravartin*. (See note p. 1.)

When he heard this, King Kuśa said to his wife, "Listen, my queen, to the words of Jaṭhara, and tell me what you think of them."

The queen, shedding a flood of tears, replied to King Kuśa,

"My lord, I am adept[1] *whether the need be for stabbing or thrusting with the sword, and so expert that not even you surpass me in the use of arms.*

"O king, you shall see Jaṭhara's proud[2] *head cut off by me and rolling all gory at your feet.*

"Woman though I am, I'll shoot an arrow that will pierce Jaṭhara's body, nay, go through it and pierce the ground where it lies food for dogs.

"Whether he be on horseback, in chariot, or riding an elephant, or at the head of a brave army, I will make an end of Jaṭhara.

"However invulnerable he may be, I'll slay him by some means or other, by incantation, spell, or ruse of words.[3]

"I would deliver you, my lord, of two such foes as he; my magic power is incalculable, the world is as straw to me.

(130)*"Let the king, therefore, be undismayed, and, wearing sweet-smelling garlands, let him pace his palace-grounds and amuse himself among his thousand women."*

"Then, O son of the Conqueror, Queen Apratimā devised a trick whereby King Jaṭhara, all unsuspecting, entered King Kuśa's inner apartment, and fell into her power. Queen Apratimā then put her right foot over King Jaṭhara's heart and her left on his ankles, and recited these verses :—

When bees sip the flowering creepers of the forest in spring-time, their wings become spotted with pollen,

You have not heard it said, O wretched man, that the creepers still preserve their virgin freshness. Other bees do not take their pleasure there.

You have not heard it said, O wretched man, that the lotus

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[1] Reading *bhadrā* for *bhadra*. So Senart.

[2] *Samakūṭam*. Senart takes this as equal to *kūṭasamam*, and translates "haute comme une montagne." But as *kūṭa* originally means "forehead" the meaning may be simply "proud" or "haughty" (carriage of the head).

[3] *Vacanakartṛima*, which must be taken as equivalent to *kartrimavacana*. Senart explains *kartṛima* as an arbitrary restitution from the Pali *kittima*, "artificial," "clever." The regular Sanskrit form is *kṛitṛima*.

which a wild elephant in rut has once uprooted, trampling it in mud and water, still preserves its virgin freshness. Other elephants do not wanton there.

You have set your heart on winning this graceful woman of faultless body, who, when she lies at night like a necklace of pearls in the arms of an honoured king, trembles with joy. You are like a man who, standing on earth, would fain win the moon.

(131)"Then, my pious friend, at that moment King Jaṭhara cried out, " Be gracious, lady, and spare me." And King Kuśa said to Queen Apratimā:

"O queen, let this craven man go unpunished, for he has turned to you for protection, holding out suppliant hands. Such mercy is the dharma of the good."

"Once upon a time, my pious friend, this Exalted One, being then a king of the Nāgas, named Ugra, had been brought under the spell of the charms and magic herbs of a wizard, and was held in duress.[1] But through his carelessness the wizard's spell lost its power, and Ugra, the Nāga king, said to himself, " I could easily reduce this wretched man to ashes, but that would not be seemly for us who are devoted to the preservation of dharma." And he recited this verse :—

You have lost the spell of your magic, and I could with my own power reduce you to ashes. But I spare you, and as far as I am concerned, long life be yours.

"Once upon a time, my pious friend, this Exalted One was a lion, a king of beasts, and this wretched man Devadatta was a hunter.

"Now the hunter, under the influence of a bitter hatred long pent up, shot the lion with a poisoned arrow when he was alone in the forest, in a small grove that was his wonted haunt, reclining unsuspecting, motionless, tranquil, and without looking round. When he had been shot, the lion, unmoved, with inexhaustible fortitude, and relying on his own strength and without any fear**(132)** slightly raised his head, and saw

[1] *Sambādhamāpanna*, cf. Pali *sambādhapaṭipanna*, of the moon when eclipsed. (*S.* 1. 50.)

that worthless man timidly approaching his lair. And when he saw him, he reflected, "Now I could easily kill that foolish man, even though he were to run to a mountain-top, to a cavern, to a wood, or even to hell itself." But having quoted the words, "Hatred is not allayed by hatred"[1] he recited this verse :

I am shot by a poisoned shaft that wounds me in a vital spot. Let not the same happen to-day to this terrified man. You have nothing to fear.

"Once upon a time, my pious friend, this Exalted One was a worthy caravan-leader. Now the caravan, under the guidance of the treacherous Devadatta who was in collusion with brigands, happened to go on a long trek through the forest. Moved by long-standing hatred Devadatta went up to the caravan-leader to point him out for the brigands to kill. But the brigands were seized by the merchants led by the caravan-leader. When, with their guide in front, they were led up for execution, they cried out in their helplessness and implored the caravan-leader to spare them. And the guide himself, guilty as he was of treachery, raised suppliant hands and begged the caravan-leader for immunity. Then in him, whose life was lived in mercy, there was aroused the compassion that he had fostered during hundreds of thousands of existences, and he granted pardon to the would-be murderers. Then he addressed the guide :—

Though I could release smoke on the wind to destroy the whole land, and guide and robbers as well, yet I let them go with their lives.

"Again, my pious friend, when this Exalted One was a king, his principal wife(**133**) was caught in sin. But in response to her entreaties he spared her life, even though she had already been led out to the place of execution. The king, endued with the gentleness and rectitude he had accumulated in the past, calmed the queen's fears, and recited this verse :

The executioner could make his steel pierce her body, which is as soft as a vessel of unbaked clay. But I spare your life and restore you to your former position.

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[1] *I.e.* Dhammapada, 5 : *Na hi verena verāni sammantīdha kudācanam.*

"Such and others like them, my pious friend, are some of the hundred thousand difficult acts of body, speech and thought which are performed by Bodhisattvas who do not lapse.

"They are Bodhisattvas who live on from life to life in the possession of manifold good qualities. They are Bodhisattvas who have won the mastery over karma, and made their deeds renowned through their accumulation of merit. They are resolute and valiant, intent on endurance, trustworthy, upright and sincere. They are generous, firm, gentle, tender, patient, whole[1] and tranquil of heart, difficult to overcome and defeat, intent on what is real[2], charitable, and faithful to their promises. They are intelligent, brilliantly intelligent, gifted with insight, and not given to gratification of sensual desires.[3] They are devoted to the highest good. They win converts by the (four) means of sympathetic appeal.[4] They are pure in conduct and clean of heart, full of exceeding great veneration, full of civility to elder and noble. They are resourceful, in all matters using conciliatory and agreeable methods, and in affairs of government they are adept in persuasive speech. They are men whose voice is not checked in the assembly, men who pour forth their eloquence in a mighty stream.[5] With knowledge as their banner they are skilled in drawing the multitude to them. They are endowed with equanimity, and their means of living is beyond reproach. They are men of successful achievements, and are ready to come to the assistance of others and help those in distress.(**134**) They do not become enervated by prosperity, and do not lose their composure in adversity. They are skilled in uprooting the vices of mean men.[6] They are unwearying in clothing the nakedness of others.[7] They

[1] *Aparyādinnacitta.* See above p. 66.

[2] *Satvayukta,* unless we should read *satyayukta,* "devoted to truth," "truthful".

[3] *Atittiga,* according to Senart, a Pali form for the Sanskrit *atriptiga, tripti* (Pali *titti*) being often used by the Buddhists to denote "gratification of sensual desires."

[4] *Sangrihītagrāhiṇas,* here taken to refer to the four *sangrahavastūni.* See above p. 4.

[5] Literally "making a mighty voice to flow," *ugravacanamarṣayitri.*

[6] Literally "men who look on what is mean or despicable," *kutsitadarśin.*

[7] *Parakopīnacchādaneṣu aparikhinnās. Kopīna* is the Pali corresponding to the Sanskrit *kaupīna,* "*pudenda,*" "loincloth." Senart prefers to give a figurative meaning to the expression and translates, "ils sont infatigables à dissimuler les actions honteuses du prochain." He also refers to the further meanings of *kaupīna* given by Böhtlingk and Roth, *viz.* "Unrecht" and "Unthat."

are anxious not to blight the maturing of their karma, and they acquire the roots of virtue by keeping themselves aloof from passion, hatred and folly. They are skilled in bringing solace to those in trouble and misfortune. They do not hesitate[4] to render all kinds of service. In all matters they are untiring in their purpose. They are endowed here in this world with the profound attributes of a Buddha. In their progress towards their goal they are undefiled in acts of body, speech and thought. Through the uprightness of their lives in former existences they are untarnished and pure in conduct. Possessing perfect knowledge they are men of undimmed understanding. They are eager to win the sphere of power of a Buddha—so far are they from refusing it.[1] With knowledge as their banner they are untiring in speech and skilled in teaching.[2] Being of irreproachable character they are immune from disaster. They are free from sin. They shun the three-fold distractions.[3] Leaving vain babblers alone,[4] they love their enemies. They do not indulge in sexual pleasures.[5] They know how to win the affection of all creatures. When they enter the world they become endowed with powers that are in accordance with the vow they have made. In all matters they are skilled in the knowledge of correct and faulty conclusions. They are rich in goodness[6] and blessed with good qualities. Eminent, wise in their illimitable virtue, they are serene among their fellows. On this matter it is said :—

> *As it is not possible for any bird to reach the confines of the sky, so is it not possible for any man to comprehend the good qualities of the self-becoming Buddhas.*

[4] Literally " are not kept away by doubt " *vicikitsā-aparivarjita.*

[1] A curious sentiment. Literally " their main object is not to refuse it," *apratyādeśanaparās.*

[2] The MS. *pravarjana* hardly makes sense, and Senart, therefore, suggests *pravacana* in the sense of " teaching." (*Cf.* Pali *pāvacana.*) This suggestion is adopted here as giving adequate sense, although Senart also suggests as an alternative reading, *āvarjana*, the Sanskritisation of the Pali *āvajjana*, which would give the meaning " skilful in attending or turning [to impressions at the doors of their senses]." See *Cpd.* 85, 227 ; *Kvu. trs.* p. 221. n. 4.

[3] *Auddhatya*, " a strange distortion of the Pali *uddhacca*, " overbalancing, agitation, excitement, flurry." (*Pali Dictionary.*) See on this term *Dial.* 1. 82 ; *Dhs. trs.* 119 ; *Cpd.* 18, 45, 83.

[4] *Sthitalapā*, thus translated, on Senart's suggestion that it equals *sthapitalapā*.

[5] Reading *amaithunagāminas* for *maithuna*° which all the MSS. have !

[6] Adopting Senart's suggestion and reading *sattvāḍhyās* for the *satvādyās* of the text.

"All the charms and medicines, my pious friend, which have been devised for the benefit and welfare of the world and for the service of men,(135) were discovered by Bodhisattvas. All the remedies that are current in the world for the benefit and welfare of men were prescribed by Bodhisattvas. All the sciences devoted to the ascertainment of truth which are known in the world were developed by Bodhisattvas. All the methods of calculating in the world, and all the forms of writing were invented by Bodhisattvas. All the names of the styles of writing known in the world were introduced by Bodhisattvas. These[1] are the Brāhmī style, the Puṣkarasāri, the Kharosti,[2] the Greek,[3] the brahmavāṇī, the puṣpā, the kutā, the śaktinā,[4] the vyatyastā,[5] the lekhā,[6] the mudrā,[7] the style of Uttarakuru,[8] of Magadha, that of the Daradas,[9] of the Chinese, of the Hūṇas,[10] of the Abhīras,[11] and of the Vangas,[12] the sīphalā style, the Dravidian,[13] the Dardura,[14] the Ramaṭha,[15] the bhayā, the vaicchetukā, the gulmalā, the hastadā, the kasūlā, the ketukā, the kusuvā, the talikā, the jajarideṣu, and the akṣarabaddhā.[16]

"All fields of gold, silver, tin, copper, lead, precious substances

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[1] Terms derived from geographical, national, or tribal names are written with a capital initial. A few others can be explained etymologically as denoting peculiar variations of a standard type, but the rest are obscure. See Senart's note, in which he calls attention to the analogous list in *Lal. Vist.*, 143, 17 ff., which however, is not sufficient to restore all the doubtful terms in this list. All are here rendered by the feminine adjectival form to agree with *lipi*, "writing," with which most of them are compounded.

[2] *I.e. Kharoṣṭhī.*

[3] *Yāvanī*, "Ionian" or "Greek."

[4] Senart suggests, on the analogy of *Lal. Vist.*, which has *śakārilipi*, that the right reading is *śākāri*, and cites the Prakrit dialect of the same name.

[5] "L'écriture tournée" (Senart).

[6] "L'écriture épistolaire" (Senart).

[7] "L'écriture des sceaux" (Senart).

[8] The text has *ukaramadhuradarada*, which is obviously corrupt. Senart suggests *uttarakurudarada*, or, perhaps better, *uttarakurumagadhadarada*. The second suggestion has been followed here.

[9] ? the people of what is now Dardistan in Kashmir.

[10] ? the Huns, who broke up the Gupta empire at the end of the 5th century A.D. (*Cambridge History of India*, I. p. 304.)

[11] A tribe of northern India.

[12] The people from whom Bengal derives its name. The MSS. have *vanda* (*sic*).

[13] *Tramiḍa*. For the variant forms of the name of this people see Caldwell: *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, pp. 12–14.

[14] A mountain in the south of India.

[15] A people in the west.

[16] *Akṣarabadhaṃ*, a conjecture of Senart's for *akṣabadhaṃ* of the text, and translated by him, "liée aux lettres, s'exprimant par la succession des lettres."

and gems were revealed by Bodhisattvas. All the expedients that exist for the service of men were the inventions of Bodhisattvas.

" On this matter it is said ":—

The peerless pre-eminent men pass through their successive lives aware of what is good for the world. Their lives are better than those of devas, men, and Guhyakas. For the perfect knowledge gained by these lords is unsurpassed.

(**136**) When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa asked the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana, " O son of the Conqueror, what is the state of heart of Bodhisattvas who do not lapse (as they advance from the seventh *bhūmi* to the eighth ?).[1] The venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana replied, " There arises in them, my pious friend, a heart that is set on the great compassion[2] as they advance from the seventh *bhūmi* to the eighth."

Such is the description of the seventh *bhūmi*.

Here ends the seventh *bhūmi* of the *Mahāvastu-Avādana.*

THE EIGHTH BHŪMI

When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa asked the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana, " O son of the Conqueror, what were the names of the Buddhas under whom the Exalted One, the Buddha Śākyamuni, acquired merit while he was advancing from the first to the seventh *bhūmi ?* "

The venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana replied, " Hear, my pious friend, the names of the powerful and renowned Buddhas, under whom this Exalted One of the Śākyan royal family acquired the root of virtue.[4] First there was Satyadharmavipulakīrti,[3] then Sukīrti, Lokābharaṇa, Vidyutprabha, Indratejas, Brahmakīrti, Vasuṃdhara, Supārśva, Anupavadya, Sujyeṣṭha, Sṛiṣṭarūpa, Praśastaguṇarāśi, Meghasvara, Hemavarṇa, Sundaravarṇa, Mṛigarājaghoṣa, Āśukārin, Dhṛitarāṣṭragati, Lokā-

[1] The answer shows that the words bracketed must be supplied.
[2] *Mahākaruṇā.* See note p. 157.
[3] As will be seen the list is not confined to the Buddhas of the first seven *bhūmis*, but goes on to enumerate those of the eighth and ninth.
[4] Most of these names seem to occur only here.

bhilāṣita, Jitaśatru, Supūjita, Yaśarāśi, Amitatejas, Sūryagupta, Candrabhānu, Niścitārtha, Kusumagupta, Padmābha, Prabhaṃkara, Dīptatejas, Satvarājan, (**137**) Gajadeva, Kuñjaragati, Sughoṣa, Samabuddhi, Hemavarṇalambadāma, Kusumadāma, Ratnadāma, Alaṃkṛita, Vimukta, Riṣabhagāmin, Riṣabha, Devasiddhayātra, Supātra, Sarvabandha, Ratnamakuṭa, Citramakuṭa, Sumakuṭa, Varamakuṭa, Calamakuṭa, Vimalamakuṭa, Lokaṃdhara, Vipulojas, Aparibhinna, Puṇḍarīkanetra, Sarvasaha, Brahmagupta, Subrahma, Amaradeva, Arimardana, Candrapadma, Candrābha, Candratejas, Susoma, Samudrabuddhi, Ratanaśṛinga, Sucandradṛiṣṭi, Hemakroḍa, Abhinnarāṣṭra, Avikṣiptāṃśa, Puraṃdara, Puṇyadatta, Haladhara,, Ṛiṣabhanetra, Varabāhu, Yaśodatta, Kamalākṣa, Dṛiṣṭaśakti Naraṃpravāha, Pranaṣṭadukkha, Samadṛiṣṭi, Dṛidhadeva, Yaśaketu, Citracchada, Cārucchada, Lokaparitrātar, Dukkhamukta, Rāṣṭradeva, Rudradeva, Bhadragupta, Udāgata, Askhalitapravarāgra, Dhanunāśa, Dharmagupta, Devagupta, Śucigātra, and Praheti.[1] These form the first hundred[2] of the host of Āryans.

"Then there were the Buddhas Dharmadhātu, Guṇaketu, Jñānaketu, Satyaketu, Puṣpaketu, Vajrasaṃghāta, Dṛiḍhahanu, Dṛiḍhasandhi, Atyuccagāmin, Vigataśatru, Citramāla, Urdhvasadhni, Guṇagupta, Ṛiṣigupta, Pralambabāhu, Ṛiṣideva, Sunetra, Sāgaradharapuruṣa, Sulocana, Ajitacakra, Unnata, Ajitapuṣyala, Purāṣa, Mangalya, Subhuja,[3] Siṃhatejas, Tṛiptavasantagandha, Avadyaparamabuddhi, Nakṣatrarāja, Bahurāṣṭra, Āryākṣa, Sugupti, Prakāśavarṇa, Saṃṛiddharāṣṭra, Kīrtanīya, Dṛiḍhaśakti, Harṣadatta, Yaśadatta, Nāgabāhu, Vigatareṇu, Śāntareṇu, Dānapraguru, Udattavarṇa, (**138**) Balabāhu, Amitaujas, Dhṛitarāṣṭra, Devalokābhilāṣita, Pratyagrarūpa, Devarājagupta, Dāmodara, Dharmarāja, Caturasravadana, Yojanābha, Padmoṣnīṣa, Sphutavikrama, Rājahaṃsagāmin, Svalakṣanamaṇḍita, Śiticūḍa, Maṇimakuṭa, Praśastavarṇa, Devābharaṇa, Kalpaduṣyagupta, Sādhurūpa, Akṣatabuddhi, Lokapadma, Gambhīrabuddhi, Śakrabhānu, Indra-

[1] Possibly, as Senart suggests, the MS. reading *prabhemi* should, instead, be resolved into something like *tatra bhūmau*, *i.e.* "in this *bhūmi*."
[2] *I.e.* as a round number. The first and second hundred in each half of this enumeration of 500 Buddhas end with a summing up in this phrase. The remaining fifty, approximately, in each half are not so summed up.
[3] Text *mubhuja* (*sic.*).

dhvaja, Dānavakula, Manuṣyadeva, Manuṣyadatta, Somacchatra, Ādityadatta, Yāmagupta, Nakṣatragupta, Sumitrarūpa, Satyabhānu, Puṣyagupta, Vṛihaspatigupta, Gagaṇagāmin, Śubhanātha, Suvarṇa, Kanakākṣa, Prasannabuddhi, Avipranaṣṭarāṣṭra, Udagragāmin, Śubhadanta, Suvimaladanta, Suvadana, Kulanandana, Janakṣatriya, Lokakṣatriya, Anantagupta, Dharmagupta, Sūkṣmavastra. These form the second hundred of Āryans.

"Then there were the Buddhas Pratyāsannabuddhi, Satvasaha, Manuṣyanāga, Upasena, Suvarṇacārin, Prabhūtavarna, Subhikṣākānta, Bhikṣudeva, Prabuddhaśīla, Nahīnagarbha, Anālambha, Ratanamudra, Hārabhūṣita, Prasiddhavedana, Sugandhivastra, Suvijṛimbhita, Amitalocana, Udāttakīrti, Sāgararāja, Mṛigadeva, Kusumahestha, Ratnaśṛinga, Citravarṇa, Padmarajavarṇa, Samantagandha, Udāragupta, Praśāntaroga, Pradakṣinārtha, Saṃkṣiptabuddhi, Anantacchatra, Yojanasahasradarśin, Utphalapadmanetra, Atipuruṣa, Anivartikabala, Svaguṇaśākha, Saṃcitora, Mahārāja, Cārucaraṇa, Prasiddharanga, Trimangala, (**139**) Suvarṇasena, Vartitārtha, Asaṃkīrṇa, Devagarbha, Suprītyarati, Vimānarājan, Parimaṇḍanārtha, Devasatva, Vipulatarāṃśa, Salīlagajagāmin, Virūḍhabhūmi.

Here ends the eighth *bhūmi* of the *Mahāvastu-Avadāna*.

THE NINTH BHŪMI

"Again,[1] my pious friend, following these were the Exalted Ones Citrabhānu, Cārubhānu, Dīptabhānu, Rucitabhānu, Asitabhānu, Hemaratha, Cāmīkaragaura, Rajakaratha, Suyakṣa, Akṣobhya, Apariśrotavāhana, Devālaṃkṛita, Subhūṣitakhaṇḍa, Śithilakuṇḍala, Maṇikarṇa, Sulakṣana, Suviśuddha, Vimalajendra, Devacūḍa, Mandāravagandha, Pataṃgacara, Cārugandha, Indracūrṇa, Śailarājaketu, Arimardana, Maṇicakra, Vimalottarīya, Satyābharaṇa, Dṛiḍhavīrya, Nandigupta, Ānandamāla, Cakravālagupta, Dṛiḍhamūla, Ānandacandra, Brahmadhvaṃsadeva, Saumbhavatsabāhu, Samīkṣitavadana, Satyāvatāra, Supratiṣṭhitabuddhi, Haraśītalāṃga,

[1] The list continues, although Kāśyapa asked for the names of the Buddhas whom Śākyamuni knew in the first seven *bhūmis* only. See p. 108,

Sukhaprabha, Bhūrisatva, Bhadragupta, Candraśubha, Bhadratejas, Iṣṭarūpa, Cakravartidatta, Suvicakṣaṇagātra, Vaiśrāvanarājan, Saṃṛiddhayajna, Sammataraśmi, Darśanakṣama, Srajamālādhārin, Suvarṇaviṣāṇa, Bhūtārthaketu, Ratnarudhiraketu, Mahārsacūḍa, Tejagupta, Varuṇarāja, Udāttavastra, Vajragupta, Dhanyabhānu, Uttaptarāṣṭra, Viśālaprabha, Lokasundara, Abhirūpa, Hiraṇyadhanyaśirika, Prabhūtadehakarṇa,(**140**) Prāgajita, Vicitramakuṭa, Dānavagupta, Rāhuvamin, Punyarāśi, Salilagupta, Śamitaśatru, Ratnayūpa, Suvikalpānga, Ajitabala, Satyanāma, Aviraktarāṣṭra, Vaiśvānaragupta, Madhuravadana, Kusumotpala, Uttarakururāja, Anjalimālādhārin, Dhanapatigupta, Taruṇārkabhānu, Anurūpagatra, Ratnakaraṇḍaketu, Mahākośa, Bahulakeśa, Puṣpamanjarimaṇḍita, Anapaviddhakarṇa, Anāviddhavarṇa, Sitāsitālocana, Araktapravāḍa, Simhoraska, Ariṣṭanemi, Bāhurājan. This is the first hundred of the host of Āryans in the ninth *bhūmi*.

"Then there were the Buddhas Bhūmideva, Puṇḍarīkākṣa, Sādhuprabha, Jyotigupta, Bahuprabha, Satyaṃvaca, Bhavadevagupta, Saṃvṛittatejas, Nirūpaghāta, Jānutrasta, Ratnaśayana, Kusumāśayana, Citraśayana, Dantaśayana, Supratiṣṭhitacaraṇa, Sarvadevagupta, Arajottarīya, Svāyambhavendra, Prasannavarṇa, Bhavaketu, Kṣīrapūrṇāmbha, Anantabuddhi, Kanakanāgarājatejas, Bandhanāntakara, Anugravarṇakṣemagupta, Jinakāntāra, Vimala, Marīcijāla, Ajitasenarājan, Kanakarāśi, Gaura, Padmamāla, Rājakṣetragupta, Samapakṣa, Cāturdeva, Devagupta, Puṣkalānga, Dvijātirāja, Bahusena, Kumudagandha, Śavalāśva, Ṣaḍviṣāṇapāta, Surabhicandana, Rājan, Sahasradātar, Abhayadeva, Arinihantar, Vimalaśikhara, Durārohabuddhi, Yajñakoṭigupta, Ratnacankrama, Jālāntara, Pariśuddhakarma, Kāmadeva, Gururatna,(**141**) Śatasahasramātar, Śucipraroha, Stimitarājan, Vṛiddhadeva, Gurujanapūjita, Jayantadeva, Sujātabuddhi, Samīkṣitārtha, Ujjhitapara, Devābhika, Asuradeva, Gandharvagīta, Vīṇāravaghoṣa, Śuddhadanta, Sudanta, Cārudanta, Amṛitaphala, Mārgodyotayitar, Maṇikuṇḍaladhara, Hemajālaprabha, Nāgabhogabāhu, Kamaladhara, Aśokasatva, Lakṣmīputra, Sunirmitarūpa, Iśvaragupta, Lokapālarājan, Sunidhyana, Agrapuruṣa, Anihatavarṇa, Kundapuṣpagandha, Ankuśa, Ārdravallipratirūpa, Kāryatāvicāra, Svatejadīpta, Prakāśadharma, Āryavaṃśaketu, Devarāja-

prabha, Pratyakṣadeva, Ahibhānurāga, Kusumottarīya, Avirasa, Prathamarājan, Puṇḍarīkarājan, Subhikṣarāja. This is the second hundred of the host of Āryans in the ninth *bhūmi*.

"Then there were the Buddhas Snigdhagātra, Paramārthasatva, Aklinnagātra, Dharmaśūra, Sutīrtha, Lokālokanihitamalla, Kundapuṣpagandha, Nirankuśa, Anotaptagātra, Upādhyāyarājan, Pravarāgramati, Anabhibhūtayaśa, Anupacchinnālambha, Devaguru, Ratnapuṣpa, Śuddhasatva, Vaiḍūryaśikhara, Citramālya, Sugandhakāya, Anantakośa, Samamathita, Satyaprabha, Adīnagāmin, Suvikrānta, Asambhrāntavacana, Gurudeva, Naradeva, Naravāhana, Ratnahasta, Lokapriya, Parinditārtha, Aviśuṣkamūla, Aparitṛiṣita, Sarvaśilparāja, Grahakośa, Anuraktarāṣṭra, Śivadattamāla, Śikharadatta, Citramāla, Mahāvimāna, Anotaptagātra, Citrahemajāla, Śāntaraja, Sangṛihītapakṣa, Aprakṛiṣṭa, Raktacandanagandha, Acalitasumanas, Upacitahanu, Jvalitayaśas, Racitamāla, Śiramakuṭa, Tejaguptarājan.

Here ends the ninth *bhūmi* in the *Mahāvastu-Avadāna*.

THE TENTH BHŪMI

(142) When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa asked the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana, "O son of the Conqueror, with regard to those Bodhisattvas who have amassed the roots of virtue, who have accomplished their tasks, who have passed through the ninth *bhūmi*, and encompassed the tenth, and who, having won to the realm of Tuṣita, yearn for human existence and descend to a mother's womb with the resolve that it will be their last existence, tell me the wonderful and marvellous attributes of these supreme men, which are not shared by Pratyekabuddhas, *etc.*, nor by saints, *etc.*, nor by disciples, *etc.*, nor by average men, *etc*".

Mahā-Kātyāyana replied to the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa, "Buddhas know what it is to be conceived, to take up a position in the womb, to be born, to have parents, to take up the religious life and to be energetic and attain wisdom."[1]

[1] Literally "they are endowed with [the attribute of] descent into the womb," *etc.*, *garbhāvakrāntisampannās*, etc.

"How, my pious friend, do Buddhas become conceived ?"

When the illustrious hero, already in possession of the roots of virtue, passes away from Tuṣita, he majestically[1] *surveys the regions of the world at the moment of his passing away.*

The Beneficent One, the Great Man, surrounded by immortals, venerated by devas, takes thought for the welfare of men and devas, and reflects :—

"Now, at this moment, is it time for me to depart hence. For men are sunk in gross darkness, are blinded, and of dimmed vision. Attaining me, they will be delivered.

(143)*"What woman is there who rejoices in moral restraint and in calm, who is of noble birth, of gentle speech, who is generous, radiant, and tender ?*

"What woman is there who is dignified, who has overcome ignorance, passion and malice, who is endowed with consummate beauty and is not base of conduct, and who possesses abundant merit ?

"Who can bear me for ten months ? Who has merit to win such honour ? Who, now, shall be my mother ? Whose womb shall I now enter ?"

And as he looked down he saw in the court of King Śuddhodana Māyā his queen, a woman like the consort of an immortal, with beauty that dazzled like the lightning.

Seeing in her his mother he addressed the immortals, saying, "I am passing hence to enter her womb for my last existence, for the sake of the well-being of Suras and men."

And the jewel-bearing throng of devas, raising their joined hands in reverence, replied, "O supreme of men, whose merit of virtue is sublime, may thy aspiration prosper.

"We, too, O benefactor of the world, shall renounce the sweet delight of the pleasures of sense, and live in the world to the honour of the Blameless One.

"For we do not wish to be separated from thee, who art revered of all created beings. Moreover, O lotus-eyed, thou wilt become a Way for devas and men."

[1] *Atiśayena* is Senart's emendation to restore the metre. But neither this nor the original *atiśaya* gives satisfactory sense. The context requires something like "carefully" or "attentively." The translation offered above comes near enough, perhaps, to the root meaning of *atiśaya*, viz. "eminent."

(144) "It is in this way, my pious friend, that Buddhas become conceived."

"And how do Buddhas take up their position in the womb ?"

"Bodhisattvas, having entered their mothers' bodies, stand in[1] the womb, or in the back, or in the belly, or in the side. But just as a fine thread on which has been strung beads of coral or beryl is not visible in any part because it is hidden,[2] although it really exists in its whole length,[3] so Bodhisattvas have and have not a position in their mothers' bodies.

"Again, my pious friend, when the Bodhisattva has entered his mother's womb, the host of devas joyfully approach, bowing and with their hands joined before them, and enquire the happy moment and day of his birth. The Bodhisattvas greet the enquiring devas by raising their right hand, but they do not hurt their mothers. Nor, indeed, do Bodhisattvas, when they are in their mothers' bodies, hurt them either when they sit or when they lie on their side or when they stand up in any position whatsoever. Again, they do not hurt their mothers when they sit cross-legged.

"Further, my pious friend, when they are yet in their mothers' bodies, by the power of the root of goodness that is in them they relate the story of their existences.[4] Celestial musical instruments play without ceasing day or night in honour of the Bodhisattva who has entered his mother's womb. Again, in honour of the Bodhisattva (145) who has entered his mother's womb a hundred thousand Apsarases cause to appear never-failing showers of celestial blossoms and aromatic powders. From the time they are Bodhisattvas in their mothers' womb until as Daśabalas they pass finally away, the celestial incense of aloe-wood does not cease.

"Verily, my pious friend, Bodhisattvas are not born of the

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[1] *Niśrāya*, Pali *nissāya* literally "leaning on," is here practically a post-position, with the preceding noun in the accusative. *N.B.*, the *P.T.S. Dictionary* does not give this form as Buddhist Sanskrit but only as a hypothetical Sanskrit word ; the Buddhist Sanskrit form given by it is *niśritya*.

[2] ? "because of the obstacle" [*i.e.* of the beads], *viṣṭambhitayā*. Senart's note is "*viṣṭambhitā* se rapporte à la 'mobilité' des pierres enfilées, qui empêche de saisir nettement le fil en aucun endroit."

[3] Literally "although its place is everywhere," *pradeśastu asti sarvaśas*. The whole simile is far from clear.

[4] *Bhavavādikathām*, Senart's confessedly unsatisfactory reading. Should we not read *bhavābhavakathām*, "the tale of their *various* existences" ?

intercourse of a father and a mother, but by their own merit independently of parents.[1]

"On this matter it is said" :—

Then dusky Māyā, with eyes like lotus-leaves, attended by many Gandharvas, earnestly[2] *and sweetly spoke to Śuddhodana :*

"Henceforth I will refrain from doing harm to living things, and will live a chaste life. I will abstain from theft, intoxication, and frivolous speech.

"I will, my lord, refrain from harsh speech and from slander, and from falsehood. This is my resolve.

"I will not nurse envy of the pleasures of others, nor do them harm, but I will be full of amity towards all, and I will give up false views.

"I will, O king, live in the practice of the eleven moralities.[3] *All night long this resolve has been stirring in me.*

"Do not then, O king, desire me with thoughts of sensual delight. See to it that you be guiltless of offence against me, for I would observe chastity."

The king replied to his wife, "I shall comply with all your wishes.(**146**) *Be at ease. You have taken up a noble life, and I and my whole realm will obey you."*

Māyā then took her thousand beloved principal maidens, went up to the fair mansion, and sat down surrounded by her entirely gracious attendants.

On her couch that was the colour of the snow-white lotus,

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[1] *Upapāduka.* On p. 153 below the form is *aupapāduka,* which, according to the *P.T.S. Dictionary,* is "a curious distortion of the Pali *opapātika,*" from *upapatti.*

[2] Literally "to the point," *sahitam.* The force of this word here is to be explained from its use in Pali in the sense of "consistent," "sensible," "to the point." Senart cites Childers, who equates it with *samagga,* and says that the word as used here denotes "un langage conciliant, doux, aimable." Max Müller in his translation of *Dhammapada,* 19 and 20 (*S.B.E.,* x. 19) takes it as equal to *saṃhitaṃ* or *saṃhitā,* but admits, "I cannot find another passage where the *Tipiṭaka* or any portion of it is called *Sahita.*" Mrs. Rhys Davids in her translation of the same passage interprets it as "what's proper." In *Dial.* I. 4, *sahitamme* is translated 'I am speaking to the point." In the *Mahāvastu* this word is a cliché in the account of the queen's address to her husband at this particular juncture, e.g. I. 201 ; 2, 5.

[3] Literally "morality in its eleven modes," *ekādaśaprakāraṃ śīlaṃ.* In the Pali texts the *śīlāni,* or rules of moral conduct, are ten in number. See note p. 168.

she whiled away her time in silence, contentedly calm and self-controlled.

Moved by excitement, a throng of deva-maidens, wearing bright garlands, came, eager to see the Conqueror's mother, and alighted on the beautiful terrace.

And when they had come and seen Māyā on her bed in beauty that dazzled like the lightning, they felt great joy and happiness, and showered on her flowers from heaven.

When they had stood awhile contemplating such a comely and wondrous, albeit human, form, they said to themselves,[1] *"There can be none like her even among the consorts of devas.*

"Ah! dear friends, observe the loveliness of this woman. How befitting (a Conqueror's mother). As she lies on her bed, she is radiant and alluring, and gleams like a stream of gold.

"And she will bear a Great Man who delights exceedingly in charity, self-restraint and virtue, (147) *who has made an end of all the* āśravas, *and who is rid of passion. What more can you want, O queen?*

"In you, whose belly, with its fair streak of downy hair, curves like the palm of the hand, and whose renown is bright, the Exalted One has taken up his abode, the Gracious One who is untainted by impurity.

"You are a worthy woman, supreme of mothers, as he, your son, is pre-eminent, he who ends existences, and is blessed. What more can you want, O queen?"

"In that conception, my pious friend, in which the mothers of Bodhisattvas conceive a Bodhisattva for his last existence, those best of women live a pure, completely perfect and chaste life. For in the hearts of these peerless women no passion for any man arises, not even for their husbands. And when a Bodhisattva has entered his mother's womb, her body becomes clothed in celestial raiment and adorned with celestial jewels, while troops of Apsarases attend to the bathing, rubbing, massaging and anointing of her body.

"When a Bodhisattva has entered his mother's womb, his mother, in company with a hundred thousand deva-maidens,

[1] The idea of "contemplating" and "speaking to themselves" is taken to be implicit in the adverb *antarato*, "inwardly."

laughs. And while she sleeps, deva-maidens in the prime of youth fan her with flower-festooned fans of the coral-tree. When a Bodhisattva comes down into the womb of a pre-eminent woman, his mother experiences no pain, as other women do.

"From the time of their sojourn in Tuṣita onwards all Bodhisattvas have surmounted the five hindrances,[1] **(148)** although they have not yet won the sovereignty of dharma. And when the ten months are fulfilled, all Bodhisattvas emerge from their mother's womb on the right side, yet without piercing that side. There is no delay; a Bodhisattva is born in as short a time as it takes to tell.

"On this matter it is said":—

Then when the tenth month had run its course, the mother of the Virtuous One went to Śuddhodana and said to him, "My course is clear to me.

"I have had a notion to go out into the park, O King, quickly get ready for me a fitting carriage and an escort."

When he had heard these words, King Śuddhodana, the guardian of earth, graciously and out of tender feeling for his queen, thus addressed his suite:—

"Quickly get ready an army of troops with elephants and horses, and a large host of foot-soldiers, bristling with darts and arrows and swords, and report to me.

"Then harness ten-hundred thousand of the best four-horsed chariots, with bells of gold merrily tinkling.

"Quickly deliver to me exceeding well-equipped tens of thousands of huge black elephants, armoured and most richly[2] caparisoned.

"See that the warriors be equipped, fitted out with armour, and irresistible. Let twenty thousand of them be speedily got ready.

(149)*"Let women in garlanded raiment take to the queen a splendid horse-chariot fitted with many a tinkling bell and coated in net-work of gold.*

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[1] *Nīvaraṇāni*, usually enumerated in Pali texts as *kāmacchanda*, (*abhijjha-*) *vyāpāda*, *thīna-middha*, *uddhacca-kukkucca*, *vicikicchā*, *i.e.* sensuality, ill-will, torpor of mind or body, worry, wavering (*P.T.S. Dictionary*, where the references are given).

[2] *Adhimātrā*, "beyond measure."

"Quickly make the Lumbinī grove like a celestial abode for the queen, clean and pleasant, with the grass, mire, leaves and litter swept away.

"Deck out each fair tree with streamers of fine cloth, jute, wool and silk, that it be like the kalpavṛikṣa[1] *trees of the lord of devas in heaven."*

"So be it," said they in obedience to the scion of kings, and soon they reported to him that everything had been done as he had commanded.

She, the mother of the vanquisher of Māra's might, speaking affectionate and loving words the while, with her escort mounted the lovely chariots.

The king's host, adorned with jewels, was resplendent as it set out in brave array, many on foot and many in chariots.

Entering the fair forest, Māyā, the Conqueror's mother, attended by her friends, roamed about in her dazzling chariot, like the consort of an immortal, knowing the rule of true delight.

Playfully she went up to a wavy-leafed fig-tree and hung with her arms to the branches, and gracefully stretched herself[2] *at the moment of giving birth to the Glorious One.*

Then twenty thousand peerless Apsarases, holding out their joined hands, greeted and addressed Māyā :—

(150)*"To-day, O queen, you are giving birth to him who crushes old age and rebirth, a tender youth of immortal stock, honoured in heaven and on earth, friend and benefactor of men and devas.*

"Do not give way to anxiety, for we shall render assistance to you. Only tell us what is to be done, and lo! it is done. Be not anxious."

From Māyā's right side, without hurting his mother, the charming babe was born, the thoughtful sage, the preacher of the highest truth.

Then at the birth of the Lord of men, cities and towns,[3]

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[1] One of the trees in Indra's heaven. The corresponding Pali, *kappa-rukkha,* also denotes a " wishing " or " magical " tree.

[2] *Pratijrimbhitā,* so interpreted by Senart on the analogy of *vijṛimbhamāṇā* in *Lal. Vist.,* 94, 22, and Beal's translation of the Chinese version of this episode, where Māyā at this moment is compared to a rainbow " stretching athwart heaven." (*Romantic Legend of Sākya Buddha,* p. 43.)

[3] Adopting Senart's suggestion that the right reading here is *nagaranigamā* instead of *nagaranagarā* of the text; the latter could only mean "cities upon cities."

several thousands of them, gleamed bright and clear like heaps of divers precious stones.

"But, my pious friend, no being in animate creation other than the Śuddhāvāsa devas can proclaim a Bodhisattva when he is born into his last existence.

"On this matter it is said":—

With their persons arrayed in fine cloth, eight thousand of these great lords,[1] *disguised as brāhmans, went to the city of Kapilavastu.*

In their splendid raiment and jewels these noble beings arrived at the door of the king's palace, and joyfully addressed the door-keeper, saying,

"Go in to Śuddhodana and tell him, 'Here are eight thousand men expert in the science of the significance of signs, and they crave admission, if it is your pleasure'."

When he had heard these words, the door-keeper went(151) *in to the king, bowed and, holding out his joined hands, said,*

"O king, peerless in strength, illustrious smiter of your foes, may you wield long and blessed sway. There are men like the immortals standing at your gates and craving admission.

"Because of their full clear eyes, their soft voices, their tread like that of elephant in rut, doubt arises in me whether these be men and not devas.[2]

"As they walk, the dust of the ground does not soil their feet; nor at any time is there heard any accompanying noise as they move along.

"With their stately gentle gestures, their noble bearing and their control of their range of vision,[3] *they give great joy to all who behold them.*

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[1] *Maheśvarās*, see note p. 155.

[2] Here called by the name *Marutas*.

[3] *Praśantadriṣṭipathā*, to be explained, apparently, by analogy with one of the attributes of the Pratyekabuddhas, namely, that "they did not look ahead farther than a plough's length" (*yugamātram*, Pali *yugamattam*). See *Mahāvastu* I. 273, and in Pali *Sn.* 63, *etc.*, *Miln.* 398. *Pathā*, here translated "range," is Senart's emendation of *yathā* in the MSS. On the interpretation suggested it may be possible to retain *yathā*, and translate "like one (those) whose vision is controlled" *i.e.* "like a Pratyekabuddha." Senart, however, renders, "ils répandent le calme, la paix dans tout ce qu'atteignent leurs regards."

"Without a doubt these imposing men are come to see your son, to greet and salute the deva of devas and of men, the lion among men."

When he had heard these words the king said to his doorkeeper, "I have given the order. Let them enter the palace."

Then the select band of immortals, lustrous as the sky, and pure of deed, went in to the palace of the high-born king.

And King Śuddhodana, seeing the great lords when they were still some way off, (152) *with his court rose up from his throne to meet them with dignified reverence.*

The king bade them all a gracious welcome. "For," said he, "your appearance, your calm and self-control and power give us joy.

"Here are fine seats beautifully fashioned. Sit down at once, sirs, to give pleasure to us."

Then they who rejoiced in their freedom from conceit and pride, sat down in comfort on those fine seats, the feet of which were bright and gleaming with silver and gold.

As soon as they were seated one of them addressed the king saying, "Let his majesty hear what the cause of our coming hither is.

"A son is born to you who is of a wholly faultless body, and bears the marks of excellence to perfection. . . .[1]

"For we, skilled in the science of signs can distinguish the defects from the excellencies by their marks. If it is not inconvenient for you we would see your son who bears the form of a Great Man".

The king replied, "Come, see my son whose fame is secure,[2] *who is renowned and glorious among devas and men, and bears the marks of excellence to perfection."*

Then the king brought in the Sugata, the adored of devas and men, lying like unto a piece of gold in soft swaddling clothes of gaily coloured wool.

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[1] Lacuna.

[2] *Suvyapadeśakṣema. Cf.* p. 180. Senart, in a note on p. 550, renders this by " qui porte un nom de bon augure," which, however, does not seem to account for *kṣema*, " safe," " secure." In any case, the literal sense of *vyapadeśa* is out of place here, as the child had not yet been given his name. (See below p. 182.) Senart suggests the meaning "character," " sign," but, perhaps, the slightly metaphorical rendering given above more fitly suits the sense here.

When the great lords saw from a distance the lovely feet of the Best of Men,(153) *they bowed their heads crowned with glittering*[1] *diadems to the ground; they bowed down their milk-white glossy heads to the ground, and stood in greeting to the Daśabala whose coming had been so long expected.*

"When Bodhisattvas are born, my pious friend, they are able even without teachers to practise all the arts of mankind. From the time of their sojourn in Tuṣita they no longer indulge in the pleasures of sense."

"O son of the Conqueror, what is the reason, what is the cause, that Bodhisattvas, although they are not yet rid of the lusts, still do not indulge in the pleasures of sense? And how was Rāhula[2] born?"

The venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana replied to the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa, "Bodhisattvas do not indulge in the pleasures of sense because of their accumulation of virtue, and because of their predilection for what is lovely, ideal, and excellent; because they abhor lust; because knowledge is their banner; because they are not unduly attached to any particular person or thing; because they are not disposed to envy; because of their nobility, their high-mindedness, and their cultivation of goodness; because, finally, of the esteem in which the world holds the perfect man, saying of him, 'He will become a Buddha.'

"Now Rāhula, passing away from Tuṣita, came down into the womb of his mother, the Kṣatriyan maiden, Yaśodharā—this, my pious friend, is the tradition.

"The universal kings were born spontaneously,[3] for example, Kusumacūḍa, Hemavarṇa, Gāndharva, Sumāla, Ratnadaṇḍa, Suvimāna,(154) Ārjava, Māndhātar, Sunaya, Suvastra, Bahupakṣa, Toragrīva, Maṇiviraja, Pavana, Marudeva, Supriya, Tyāgavat, Śuddhavaṃśa, Durāroha,[4] and all the rest of the

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[1] *Vigalita.* For this sense of the word Senart refers to his *Légende du Buddha*, 2nd ed. p. 256, and adds other instances from *Lal. Vist.* It occurs again in the *Mahāvastu* in this sense at 1. 157, 216, 226; 2. 19, 29.

[2] The son of Gotama.

[3] *Aupapāduka*, see note above p. 115.

[4] All these kings are otherwise unknown, with the exception of Māndhātar (Pali *Mandhātā*), who was the son of Upoṣadha (Uposatha), ultimately descending from Mahāsammata. (See p. 293.)

host of universal kings were born spontaneously. But not so was Prince Rāhula born."

"How, my pious friend, do Bodhisattvas achieve retirement from the world?"

"Once upon a time, O son of the Conqueror, the Bodhisattva was on the point of withdrawing from the world. He went to the king's palace and spoke to Chandaka[1] in verse:—

"Quick, Chandaka, bring me my steed Kaṇṭhaka. Do not tarry long. To-day I am going to win a hard-fought fight. So be glad."

But Chandaka, his face bathed in tears, sighed deeply. He gave vent to his tears and his cries of grief to wake up the sleeping palace folk.

"How," cried he, "can the women, brilliantly[2] garbed in raiment of precious silk,[3] stretched out amid waves of perfume,[4] give themselves up now to the joys of love, when it is the time for grief and lamentation, and to sleep when it is the place and time for wakeful watching?

"Can it be that Māyā the queen, beautiful as Saudamānī,[5] although, it is true, she has kept vigil a long time, is now lying down in carefree joy like a Sura's wife in a fair city of the Suras, at the moment when he who is the boon[6] of men is leaving home?

(155)*She, the queen, the mother of the Lord of men, she whose eyes are kind, large, and full of tenderness, in spite of the imminence[7] of this cruel separation, hears not my cries, for she is sunk in sleep.*

"Where now is that brave array of warriors with their elephants and horses, and brightly armed with arrows, darts and spears? What boots it now? For it does not heed the departure of the champion of the Śākyans.

"Whom shall I arouse? Who will be my ally? What

[1] Chandaka, Pali *Channa*, the charioteer and companion of Gotama.

[2] *Āvigalita, cf. vigalita*, p. 121.

[3] Accepting Senart's suggestion of *kośakārā* or *kośikārā* for *kośabhārā* of the text.

[4] Again on Senart's suggestion, reading *vāsaugha* for *vāṣpaugha* (*i.e. bāṣp°*) of the text.

[5] One of the Apsarases.

[6] Reading *lañcaka* for *lambaka*. See note p. 90.

[7] Literally "seeing" it, *sampaśyamāna* (for *sampaśyamānā*, "metri causa"), which, as the queen is asleep, cannot be literally true.

can I do now that it is no longer day? Alas, the king and his folk, bereft of him whose splendour is golden, will perish."

A throng of devas spoke to him in sweet tones, "Why do you lament, Chandaka, why are you troubled at this? Trained warriors could not bar his going forth. How then can you?

"If one were to create an uproar in Kapilavastu with kettle-drums, tabours, and a thousand trumpets, in order to arouse it, this fair and prosperous city would not wake up, for it is lulled to sleep by the immortals and their lord.

"See the devas of heaven, with diadems of gems and jewels, (156)*how, obedient to the Worshipful One, they bow low with their hands joined before them, and, bending their heads, adore him with the words, "Thou art our kinsman, thou art our refuge."*

"Therefore, cheerfully bring up Kaṇṭhaka, the Leader's steed, caparisoned in silver and gold, which was born the same moment as its master.[1] *For there is not in heaven or earth anyone who could put an obstacle in the way of him who is the boon of men.*[2] *Lead up the noble steed."*

Chandaka, incited by the words of the virtuous deva, obediently, yet weeping the while, led up the horse whose colour was shining white like the water-lily and the jasmine, which was beautiful as the moon when it is full, and which had been born the same time as its master.

"Here, Saviour," said he, "is thy steed, comely of limb, and ready, fleet of foot as the lightning streak, and friskily rearing. O beautiful broad-chested steed, may what you are now intent on doing turn out successful.

"O sturdy steed, may your adversary be quickly overcome, like a feeble and broken awn of barley, vanquished by your matchless might. May your hope be fulfilled, O boon of men,[3] *and enriched as with mountains of gold.*

"Let those who would impede you be gone.(157) *Let those who bring support win abundant strength. May you whose stride is stately like that of elephant in rut fully achieve the end you aim at."*

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[1] To the reference to this legend given by Senart from *Lal. Vist.*, 109. 4, add, after *D.P.N.*, *J.* 1. 54; *BudvA.* (P.T.S. ed.), 131, 276, etc.

[2] and [3] Reading *naralañcaka* for °*lambaka.* See note p. 90,

The floor of the king's courtyard, inlaid with precious stones, rumbled to the beat of Kaṇṭhaka's hoofs, and the wondrous sound echoed softly through the night.

But the four guardians of the world,[1] *in their brilliant diadems and flowing garlands, put their hands that were as the red lotus under the hoofs of Kaṇṭhaka.*

In front, his hair clasped with a jewel, Indra, the wielder of the thunderbolt, the teacher of the Three-and-Thirty[2] *devas, the thousand-eyed, went before the Best of Men.*

One might think that it was the horse Kaṇṭhaka that bore him, but in reality it was the devas who carried in their noble hands the tiger of eloquence, him who sheds wondrous rays around him.

When he had withdrawn from the fair city, the lion-hearted man looked down on the goodly citadel, and said, "I shall not enter it again before I have passed beyond the power of old age and death."

"Thus, my pious friend, do perfect Buddhas achieve retirement from the world. But I cannot define exactly the *kalpa* that elapsed from the conception of the Bodhisattva up to his leaving home, nor the rest of the *kalpa* ".

ATTRIBUTES OF THE BUDDHAS

"Nor is it possible to comprehend all the virtues of a Buddha, so numerous are the virtues with which Buddhas are endowed. (**158**)After they have come to the *bodhi* tree, but before they acquire comprehensive knowledge, Buddhas become gifted with the five eyes."

When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa said

[1] Only one, Indra, is referred to in the next stanza. In Hindu mythology there were usually eight *lokapālas*, but in Pali texts there are only four. These are identical with the four kings of the lowest deva-heaven which is called after them *cāturmahārājakāyika* (see p. 25), where they dwell as guardians of the four quarters, namely, Dhataraṭṭha of the east, Virūḷhaka of the south, Virūpakkha of the west, and Vessavaṇa of the north. This inclusion of Indra among the " four guardians " (who the others were regarded as being is not stated) is not the only indication we have that the redactors of the *Mahāvastu* were more conversant with Hindu mythology than with Buddhist, or, to be more exact, gave a larger place to it than was usual in Buddhist scriptures.

[2] Literally, " the thirty," *tridaśā*, the devas who inhabited *Tridaśa*, a conventional name for Trāyastriṃśa, the home of the Three-and-Thirty devas. (See note p. 25.) Similarly *Tāvatiṃsa* in Pali is often called *Tidasa*.

to the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana, "O son of the Conqueror, describe in detail these five eyes. All the world, the crowded assembly of devas and men, is listening attentively."

The venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana replied to the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa, "These, my pious friend, are the five eyes of the perfect Buddhas. What five? The eye of the flesh, the deva eye, the eye of wisdom, the eye of dharma, and the eye of a Buddha. These five eyes,[1] my pious friend, are possessed by perfect Buddhas. They are not attributes[2] of Pratyekabuddhas, arhans, disciples, nor of the utterly ignorant men of the crowd.

"With regard to the Tathāgatas' eye of the flesh, this eye is endowed with such brilliance, such power of perception of what is minute and real, as does not belong to the eye of the flesh of any other being. And when Bodhisattvas have attained this all-seeing faculty, their range of vision is unobstructed, no matter what extent of space they desire to scan. What is the reason for this? It comes of their rich accumulation of merit. As it must be believed that a universal king with his fourfold army moves through the air from continent to continent by his magic power, and as it must be believed that the firm earth, when Buddhas walk on it, rises and subsides and subsides and rises by their magic power, even though they do not will it, in the same way and by other analogies as well this (159) eye of the flesh is proved to be an essential attribute of perfect Buddhas. Not in a *kalpa* is it possible to reach the limit of the qualities of the physical eye of Buddhas. And why? Because there is nothing in the Buddhas that can be measured by the standard of the world, but everything appertaining to the great seers is transcendental.[3] Likewise the experience of the Buddhas is transcendental. And yet this physical eye of the Buddhas has the same colour, the same mode of working and the same position in the body as it has in other beings.

"The deva eye of the Buddhas is the same as that which

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[1] In the Pali canon these "eyes" are described somewhat differently. At *Nd.*[2] 235 we have *maṃsacakkhu*, "the eye of the flesh or physical eye," *dibba*, "the deva eye," *paññā*, "the eye of wisdom," *buddha*, "the eye of a Buddha," and *samanta*, "the eye of all-round knowledge, the eye of a Tathāgata."

[2] *Asādhāraṇa*, "not general to," "not shared by."

[3] A statement of the special doctrine of the Lokottaravādins, that same sect of which the *Mahāvastu* is the scripture. See p. 3 and compare pp. 45, 76, 132.

devas of earth, Yakṣa devas, Rākṣasa devas, Kāmāvacara[1] devas and Rūpāvacara[2] devas have, only superior, larger, and more expansive. This eye is concerned with mental forms.

"The eye of wisdom of the Buddhas is the same as that which individuals, arranged in eight classes[3] according to their power of sight from the convert up to the arhan, have, but is clearer. Then what is the dharma eye of the Buddhas? This consists in the intellectual possession of the ten powers.[4] What ten powers? They are as follows:—

A Buddha knows what is and what is not a causal occasion. This is the first power of the infinitely wise ones. He knows whither every course of conduct tends. This is the second power. He knows the various elements which make up the world.

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[1] Certain grades of devas in a heaven where they are still amenable to the seductiveness of the senses.

[2] Devas in a heaven or sphere where "*rūpa's* or objects of sight are the principal medium of experience" (*Expositor*, p. 216 n.).

[3] Compare note p. 94.

[4] Senart has a long note on these *balāni* and resolves many of the difficulties in the text with the aid of the two lists in the *Lotus* and the *Mahāvyutpatti* respectively. It may here be said that with the limited sources for collation at his disposal, Senart has been remarkably successful in restoring corrupted terms. At first sight, and independently of the ordinals enumerating them, the *balāni* of the *Mahāvastu* are eleven in number. Senart decided that the right number of ten could be obtained by taking the words *kleśavyavadānam vetti saptamam dhyānasamāpattim vetti* as meant to express one *bala*, and suggests the reading . . . *samāpattīnaṃca*. This reading has been adopted for translation, and, when one considers the invariably mutilated form of the *Mahāvastu* terms, it comes very near the description of the seventh *bala* in the Pali texts, *e.g. A.* 5. 34, *jhānavimokkhasamādhisamāpattīnaṃ saṃkilesaṃ vodānaṃ vuṭṭhānaṃ pajānāti.*

Where the *Mahāvastu* list of *balāni* departs farthest from the tradition is in its term for the ninth—*pariśuddhadivyanayanā bhavanti*. The possession of the deva eye is nowhere else said to be a *bala* in itself. The ten *balāni*, indeed, have just been said to compose the intellectual attributes connoted by the "eye of dharma." The "deva eye" is rather the means of exercising the power which is ninth in the Pali lists—*dibbena cakkhunā . . . satte passati cavamāne upapajjamāne . . . yathākammūpage*, "with his deva eye he sees beings passing away and being born . . . according to their deeds." The ninth *bala* of the *Mahāvastu*, therefore, corresponds to none in the Pali lists, and is an attempt to make up the round number of ten which had been vitiated elsewhere. This had happened when the sixth *bala* was described, too succinctly, as *karmabalam prajānanti śubhāśubham, i.e.* "they know the power of karma, whether it is good or bad". In the Pali lists this knowledge is described under two aspects, *i.e.* it is divided into two *balas*; first, the knowledge of the working of *kamma, atītānāgatapaccuppannānaṃ kammasamādānānaṃ ṭhanaso hetuso vipākam . . . pajānāti*, "he knows the fruit of actions past, future, and present (= our *bala* No. 2); and, second, "the knowledge of the state of beings when they reap the fruit of this karma," the ninth *bala* quoted above from the Pali list. In *S.* 5. 303 ff., the *balāni* appear as ten of the thirteen attainments gained by the cultivation of the "four arisings of mindfulness."

This is declared to be the third power. He knows the divers characters of beings. This is the fourth power.

He knows the merits of the conduct of other men. This is the fifth power.(160) *He knows the good and bad force of karma. This is the sixth power.*

He knows the fault and purification of attainments in meditation.[1] *This is the seventh power. He knows the many modes of his former lives. This is the eighth power.*

The Buddhas become endowed with the clear deva eye. This is the ninth power. They attain the destruction of all defiling lusts. This is the tenth power.

"These are the intellectual powers on account of which the All-seeing One, renowned in heaven and earth, is called Daśabala. The intellectual knowledge that is comprised in these ten powers is what is meant by the eye of dharma.

"Next what is the Buddha eye? It comprises the eighteen special attributes[2] of a Buddha, which are as follows. The Buddha has infallible knowledge and insight of the past. He has infallible knowledge and insight of the future. He has infallible knowledge and insight of the present. All his acts of body are based on knowledge and concerned with knowledge. All his acts of speech are based on knowledge and concerned with knowledge. All his acts of thought are based on knowledge and concerned with knowledge. There is no falling off in resolution. There is no falling off in energy. There is no falling off in mindfulness. There is no falling off in concentration. There is no falling off in insight. There is no falling off in freedom. There is no faltering. There is no impetuosity.[3]

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[1] *Dhyāna*, Pali *jhāna*. "Meditation" is, perhaps, the English word that comes nearest to the meaning of the original, and may be used in translation if only it is remembered that it is a particular type of meditation, special to Buddhist theory and practice. It is essentially a form of religious experience, or rather exercise, and in some ways is "mystical." Mrs. Rhys Davids translated *jhāna* by "musing," believing that thus she would avoid the intellectual associations of the word "meditation." "Musing," however, seems too passive a term, for *dhyāna* (*jhāna*) was throughout all its stages distinctly an active and well-ordered exercise. It is described in detail below p. 183.

[2] *Āveṇikā buddhadharmā:* See note p. 33.

[3] *Ravita*, so translated here on the analogy of the use of Pali *rava* in the *Vinaya* to denote "speaking and making blunders by over-hurrying oneself in speaking" (*Pali Dictionary*). Compare also the use of *ravā* cited by Senart from the corresponding list in *Jina Alaṃkāra* (Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 648 f.) and translated by "action violente."

His mindfulness never fails. His mind is never disturbed. There is no thoughtless indifference. There is no preoccupation with the multiplicity of phenomena. The knowledge involved in these eighteen special attributes of a Buddha is what is meant by the Buddha eye."

(**161**) When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa asked the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana, "Again, O son of the Conqueror, does this account of the *bhūmis* apply to the Exalted One (Śākyamuni) particularly, or to all perfect Buddhas generally ? "

The venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana replied to the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa, " Once upon a time, my pious friend, the Exalted One was staying near Benares, at Ṛiṣivadana, in the Deer Park,[1] attended by eighteen thousand saints. There the Exalted One analysed the eighteen special attributes of a Buddha by saying, ' Perfect Buddhas have infallible knowledge and insight of the past,' *etc.*, and expounded the ten *bhūmis*. It is by taking the perfect Buddha Śākyamuni as a type that the ten *bhūmis* are explained. Concerning this matter it is said :

The man of vision gives up his dear possessions with a glad heart, as he passes through his long succession of lives. That is why the Tathāgata, reaching his high ideal, awakens to that unsurpassed knowledge which is dear to him.

With wholly contented mind he gives up women garbed in fine raiment and wearing brilliant jewels. His splendid wonderful purpose is disclosed by the fruit of this deed.

Never did he in the course of his existence shoot arrows, darts, spears and javelins at living beings. Hence his path is free from grass, brambles, and thorns(**162**) *as he passes harmlessly through town and village.*

He listens respectfully even to his servant if he speaks the truth, and does not interrupt his tale. That is why, when he himself preaches dharma to the multitude, there is none that is not glad and does not rejoice.

He bestows choice gifts. . . .[2] *He dispels doubt and perplexity, and that is why cool radiance, like shafts of light, emanates from his body.*

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[1] *Mṛigadāva.* See note p. 311.
[2] Lacuna.

No beggar lays his request before the Lord of men in vain. That is why his preaching is not in vain. Hence also the marvel of his destruction of Māra's power.

Right gladly do they[1] *give the Conquerors lovely golden palm-leaves. That is the reason for the marvel that the kinsmen of the world always go about in the world with cheerful faces.*[2]

Right gladly does he give at all times jewelled sandals and shoes.(**163**) *That is why the Supreme of Men always walks without touching the ground for as much as the width of four fingers.*

Although reviled by others again and again, the Lord bears it with composure and pays no heed to it.[3] *That again is why this earth with its mountains rises and subsides as he walks over it.*

With his guidance he gives protection to the humble and raises up the fallen multitude. That is why the jewel-bearing earth rises and falls as he walks along.

The chapter of the dharma called *Buddhānusmṛiti*[4] was then recited by the perfect Buddha to celebrate his own virtues, and at the end of that he was extolled in his presence by the venerable Vāgīsa :—[5]

Homage to thee, O Buddha, who art boundless of vision, limitless of sight, who bearest the hundred[6] *marks of merit, who art friendly and compassionate, who knowest the highest good. I greet thee, Gotama, in these pleasant strains.*

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[1] *I.e.* the Bodhisattvas generally—a disconcerting change of number from the singular otherwise used throughout this passage.

[2] Text has *anālokiyā*, which is unsatisfactory. Senart suggests *mukholokiyā*, which may be taken as a variant of *mukhullocaka* (above p. 27 of text) "glad" *i.e.* "with a cheerful look." *Cf.* Pali *mukhullokana*, "cheerful" and *mukhullokika*, "flattering."

[3] *Ūhate* = Vedic *ohate*. (√*ūh*, "to consider.") So Senart. It may be better to read *ūhata* (Pali), "disturbed," past participle from *ūhanati* = *ud* + *hanati*, and translate "is not disturbed."

[4] A work which cannot with certainty be identified with the *Bodhisattva-buddhânusmṛitisamādhi*, referred to by Wassiljew: *Buddhismus*, p. 187. See Senart's note. Note, also, that there is an evident break here in the coherence of the narrative.

[5] *I.e. Vāgīśa*, "lord of speech." Usually this word is an epithet, and is often found compounded with the names of scholars. It is not clear to whom this title is applied here or at pp. 267, 269, of the text where the name occurs again. Is he identical with Vangīsa Thera, whose verses are given at *Theragāthā* 1209–79 ?

[6] *I.e.* every possible such mark.

Having thyself crossed, O great seer, thou leadest others across. Thou Foremost Man, thou bringer of peace, thou knowest no fear.(**164**) *Making clear what valid reasoning is, thou leadest many men to the deathless truth.*

The moral worth of the all-seeing great seer is well described as deep, noble, and rich. Thou art devout in this world and beyond, distinguished for thy moral worth, a crusher of thy foes.

O great sage, thy life is flawless, stainless, and freed of the āśravas. *Clean and perfectly pure, thou art all aglow like a fire on a mountain top. In steadiness of mind thou hast reached perfection.*

Thus, too, O Man, thou hast gained mastery of concentration and of thought. Thou hast reached perfect mastery. Far removed from the sphere of evil, thou shinest forth.

Just as thy wish is, thou that art extolled of devas and men, thou dost ensue,[1] *with all thy heart,*[2] *solitude*[3] *and concentration ; thou art resplendent as a garland of gold. Homage then, to thee, O truly valiant Gotama.*

As the glorious sun shines in the sky, and the full moon when the sky is clear,(**165**) *so dost thou, O Man, firm in concentration, shine forth like burnished gold.*

Men who strive in perplexity[4] *and ignorance know not the whole-hearted endeavour of him who ensues solitude and blissful concentration. Homage to thee, who art adored by devas and men.*

Both when thou lookest out upon the world,[5] *O thou whose tread is like a Nāga's,*[6] *and when thou reachest the shore beyond death, mindful and with thy thought unsullied, then does this life-bearing earth quake.*

Since, through thine own understanding, thou hast appre-

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[1] Reading *niṣevase* (*ni* + *sev*) for *niveśasan* of the text.

[2] *Śāntara*, which Senart suggests is " un réflet plus ou moins défiguré " of Pali *santharin* in *sabbasantharin*, " completely," etc.

[3] *Araṇa* for *araṇya*. So also next page.

[4] *Ākāṅkṣamānā vigatā*. The second word makes no sense here, and has been replaced in translation by *vimanā*. So Senart.

[5] *Yadā ca ālokasi*. The reference here is obscure, as there is no mention elsewhere of an earthquake on such an occasion. Senart takes the verb in a " moral " sense and renders " quand tu te livres à la contemplation." But this is open to two objections ; first, that *āloketi* is never in this text used with such a meaning, and second, that there is never said to be a convulsion of the earth when the Buddha engages in contemplation.

[6] Here an " elephant." See note p. 35.

hended[1] *the truth and knowledge unheard of before,*[2] *O Foremost Man, who shinest like thousand-eyed Maghavan,*[3] *pray give utterance to it.*[4]

This terrible misery is now at an end; it will arise no more.[5] *The cessation of it is complete.*[6] *The result*[7] *of deeds fades away like the sighing of the wind.*

The words that proclaim emancipation of mind and reveal deliverance, are beyond thought, yet are fixed in the way of reason,(166) *sound strong and clear, are eloquent, gentle, and instinct with truth.*

Explain these matchless words . . . ,[8] *for thou art in the presence of men. Verily, when they hear thy sweet well-spoken speech, the thirsty will drink as from a brook of water.*

Among stricken men, do thou devise a kindly, incomparable readiness of speech that will have the force of supreme authority. For thou hast attained perfection in the highest attributes as has no one else in the world.

O Sage, thy wisdom is supreme, unequalled, matchless in the whole world. Thou art the highest of all living beings, as Mount Meru is among rocky peaks.

Endowed with so much virtue as thou art, there is none equal or like, much less superior to thee in good qualities. Thou art the highest, the perfect man, as immovable blessed Nirvana is best of all states.

Having abjured passion, folly and vice, conceit, hypocrisy and ensnaring lust(167), *thou, with thy mind delivered from sin, shinest forth like the full moon in the clear sky.*

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[1] *Abhisametya*, Pali *abhisameti*, for which the Buddhist Sanskrit form in *Divy.* 617 is *abhisamayati.* The latter, however, may be a denominative from *abhisamaya.* See note p. 206. On p. 312 of the text *abhisameti* is used with the locative case of the object.

[2] *darśanaṃ tathā . . . anuśrutaṃ.* The text has *anuśrutam*, but, as Senart points out, the sense requires *anāśrutam* or *aviśrutam.*

[3] A name of Indra; in Pali *Magha*, " the name Sakka bore in a previous birth when he was born as a man in Macalagāma in Magadha. His story is given in the *Kulāvaka Jātaka*" (*D.P.N.*).

[4] The speech which is here begged of the Buddha is not forthcoming, and Senart, therefore, suggests that the eulogy of Vāgīśa's is out of its proper place.

[5] *Ito . . . agre*—" henceforth; *cf.* Pali *yadagge . . . tadagge*, and BSk. *tadagrena, adyāgrena* cited by Senart from *Lal. Vist.* and *Lotus.*

[6] Literally, " the cessation of it has reached bottom," reading, with Senart, *avarodhanam adho pravartati*, for *avarodhānam*, etc., of the text.

[7] *Pāka*, " ripening," " maturing," *sc.* of karma.

[8] Lacuna.

Since thou hast uprightly walked in the way of truth, thou art a mighty bridge over which good men cross. O Foremost Man, thou that shinest forth like thousand-eyed Maghavan, pour forth this hymn of thine.

Cultivate the concentration that is free of defilements, pure and calm, the refuge of men. For the good of living beings, thou art triumphantly resplendent like the sun, and revered of devas and men.

Free of all attachments in this world and the world beyond, meditating thou rejoicest in thy meditation. Crowds of devas throng together to adore the great Seer, with joined hands outstretched.

Manifold[1] *in many ways is the eye of the clear-seeing Buddhas, who crush old age and death, who tame the untamed.*

The conduct of the Exalted One is transcendental, his root of virtue is transcendental. The Seer's walking, standing, sitting and lying down are transcendental.

The Sugata's body, which brings about the destruction of the fetters of existence,(168) *is also transcendental. Of this, my friends, there should be no doubt.*

The Seer's wearing of his mendicant's robe is transcendental. Of this there is no doubt. The Sugata's eating of his food is likewise transcendental.

The teaching of the heroic men is to be deemed wholly transcendental, and I shall proclaim, as it truly is, the greatness of the eminently wise Buddhas.

When they have obtained opportunity of place and time, and maturity of karma, the Leaders preach the true dharma each time it is born anew.[2]

The Buddhas conform to the world's conditions, but in such a way that they also conform to the traits of transcendentalism.

The pre-eminent men practise the four postures of the body,[3] *though no fatigue comes over these men of shining deeds.*

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[1] The metre changes here, and the verses following are evidently not part of Vāgīśa's eulogy, but are a recital of the special tenets of the Lokottaravādins. See pp. 3, 45, 76, 132.

[2] *Abhinirvṛitam*, cf. Pali *abhinibbatti*, "rebirth," etc., that is to say, with the coming of each new Buddha.

[3] See note p. 18.

It is true that they wash their feet, but no dust ever adheres to them; their feet remain clean as lotus-leaves. This washing is mere conformity with the world.

It is true that the Buddhas bathe, but no dirt is found on them; their bodies are radiant like the golden amaranth. Their bathing is mere conformity with the world.

They clean their teeth and perfume their mouths with the fragrance of the lotus. They put on clothes, the cloak and the three robes.

Though the wind blows their garments about, it does not harm their bodies. (169) *This clothing of the lion-hearted men is mere conformity with the world.*

They sit in the shade, though the heat of the sun would not torment them. This is mere conformity with the world on the part of the Buddhas whose karma has had a happy outcome.[1]

They are in the habit of taking medicine, but there is no disease in them, for great is the reward that those leaders reap. This taking of medicine is mere conformity with the world.

Although they could suppress the working of karma, the Conquerors let it become manifest and conceal their sovereign power.[2] *This is mere conformity with the world.*

It is true that they eat food, but hunger never distresses them. It is in order to provide men with the opportunity to give alms that in this respect they conform to the world.

It is true that they drink, but thirst never torments them —this is a wondrous attribute of the great seers. Their drinking is mere conformity with the world.

They put on robes, and yet a Conqueror would always be covered without them and have the same appearance as devas. This wearing of robes is mere conformity with the world.

They keep their dark and glossy hair close cropped, although no razor ever cuts it. This is mere conformity with the world.

They take on the semblance of being old, but for them there is no old age, for the Conquerors have the gift of overcoming it. This appearance of old age is mere conformity with the world.

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[1] Literally "the issue of whose karma is fair"—*śubhaniṣyanda.* Cf. the use of *nissanda* in Pali.

[2] *I.e.*, they are or remain in the world of their own free will, and not because any karma of theirs has entailed rebirth.

Although they have reached perfection by the merits won in the course of countless kalpas, *they make it appear as though they were at the beginning. This is mere conformity with the world.*

(170)*Although the Sugata's corporeal existence*[1] *is not due to the sexual union of parents, yet the Buddhas can point to their fathers and mothers. This is mere conformity with the world.*

From Dīpaṃkara onwards, the Tathāgata is always free from passion. Yet (the Buddha) has a son, Rāhula, to show. This is mere conformity with the world.

Although in the course of countless koṭis *of* kalpas *they have attained to perfect insight, they yet wear the semblance of being ignorant. This is mere conformity with the world.*

Although in the worlds both of devas and of men they condemn upholders of wrong beliefs, they yet resort to heretics. This is mere conformity with the world.

Although, for the sake of all beings, they have awakened to the unsurpassed enlightenment, they yet put on the appearance of a lack of zeal.[2] *This is mere conformity with the world.*

All perfect Buddhas are endowed with a voice of perfect qualities. It has sixty qualities. What are the sixty ?

The voice of the Excellent Man pervades everywhere with a sweet musical sound. The Sugata's voice is like the sound of the lute and the fife. It is like a swan's song.

The voice of the eminently wise one is like the roar of the thunder-cloud, yet sweet, like the cuckoo's call.

It is like the rattle of chariot-wheels, like the booming of the ocean, like the cry of a water-bird.

Like the notes of the kinnara,[3] *the sparrow, and the cloud-bird*[4] *is the voice of them who bear the marks of excellence.*(171) *It is like the trumpeting of an elephant, and like the roar of the king of beasts.*

[1] *Samucchritam* (*sam-ud-śri*). Cf. BSk. *samucchraya,* "body," *Divy.* 70, and Pali *samussaya* in the same sense, *D.* 2. 157 ; *S.* 1. 148, etc.

[2] *Alpotsukatva,* synonymous with the Pali *appossukkatā,* abstract noun from *appossukka,* "unconcerned," "living at ease," "careless."

[3] Either "a kind of musical instrument," or the fabulous "little bird with a head like a man's." See note p. 54.

[4] *Meghasvararavā,* on the assumption that this is a form of *megharāva,* "a kind of water-bird."

The utterance of the Pre-eminent of Men and devas is deep as the sound of drums; it is like the rustling of the wind-swept forest,[1] *and like the rumbling of an earthquake.*

The voice of the Conquerors pervades everywhere like the sound of an orchestra of the five instruments.[2] *It is low like the gentle note of the duck,*[3] *and of the red-lipped, slender-tongued peacock.*

The voice of those who are pre-eminent in virtue is sweet as the song of the Gandharvas. It is like the sound of the lapping[4] *of waves, and it is not rendered confused by distance.*

The voice of the foremost of men both in heaven and on earth is like the merry tinkling of bells, yet full; it is like the rustling of a net of gold, and like the jingling of jewels.

The voice of those who bear the marks of excellence is not too hurried, nor uneven, nor faltering, but sweet, gushing and coherent.[5]

The sweet voice of the Daśabalas pervades a whole assembly. It makes a whole assembly understand, even though nayutas *of worlds are gathered there.*

Though it speak in one language, this utterance becomes current everywhere, even in the barbaric assemblies of the Scythians,[6] *the Greeks, the Chinese, the Ramaṭhas,*[7] *the Persians*[8], *and the Daradas.*[9]

The voice of the most eminent of men as it goes forth does not miss anyone in the assembly.(172) *The voice of the Daśabalas is neither raised nor lowered, but remains eventoned.*

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[1] *Vanadeva-anilavidhūtasvaraprapātā.* The general sense of this compound is clear, but it presents difficulties of grammar and metre which Senart is unable to resolve.

[2] *Pañcāngikatulya*, for *pañcāngikatūrya* (Pali °*turiya*). *Tulya* is probably reminiscent of the etymology of *tūrya*, "musical instrument," which would seem to be derived from *tul*, "weigh," "balance," "scale." There is no manuscript justification for changing *tulya* into *tūrya*, although below (p. 194, text) we have *pañcāngikasya tūryasa.* The five instruments referred to in this phrase are specified at *VvA.* 37 as being *ātata, vitata, ātata-vitata, ghana,* and *susira,* but the dictionaries do not seem to agree as to the precise nature of them.

[3] Or a bird of the same species. Here, as elsewhere in Indian literature, western standards of the musicality of bird notes must be forgotten.

[4] Literally "falling," *nipāta.*

[5] *Padasaṃcayavatī.*

[6] *Śaka.*

[7] See note p. 107.

[8] *Pahlava, i.e.* Pahlavi or Pehlavi.

[9] See note p. 107.

The Sugata's voice is not broken, nor forced, nor affected, nor halting;[1] *it sounds like a hymn of praise.*

It is not vulgar nor corrupted, but consists of wholly ordered sounds. It thrills all men, good and bad, with its accents.

When the speaking voice goes forth from between the spotless teeth of the Virtuous One, the flocks of birds in sky and wood rejoice.

When the eloquent Sugata's voice goes forth in the assembly, it is adequate to the need of any tone that may be desirable.

The clear voice of these sweet-toned men issues melodiously[2] *and earnestly;*[3] *it is like the sound of a mountain stream, like the osprey's cry.*

The Conqueror's voice is like that of the blue-jay, like that of the pheasant which is coloured like the golden leaf of the palm-tree; its stirring sound is like the noise of the crashing drum and the tabor.

The voice of those who have attained perfection is to be recognised and acknowledged as deep and terrifying, yet good to hear, and always reaching the heart.

The voice of all the meritorious ones, who have gathered a rich store of goodness, whose glory is unending, is pleasant to the ear like an Indian lute.

(173)" Such is a true description of the Buddha's voice.

"Perfect Buddhas preach dharma in this wise: 'Monks,' they say, 'I do not teach that the impermanent things are permanent, nor that the permanent are impermanent. I do not teach that what is ill is well, nor that what is well is ill. I do not teach that what is without self has a self, nor that what has a self is without self. I do not teach that vile things are fair, nor that fair things are vile. I do not teach that beautiful things are ugly. I do not teach that right things are wrong, nor that wrong things are right. I do not teach that things which are free of the *āśravas* are charged with them, nor that the things which are charged with them are free of them. I do not teach that things which are distinct are indistinct, nor that things which are indistinct are distinct. I

[1] *Vikhalakhalakhalāyati*, of which Senart says " paraît être une onomatopée, peut-être rattachée au verbe *skhal*."

[2] Literally " well-perfumed," *varavāsana*.

[3] *Sahita*, see p. 115.

do not teach that base things are sublime, nor that sublime things are base. I do not teach that things which pertain to a layman pertain to a recluse, nor that things which pertain to a recluse pertain to a layman.'

"Thus, my pious friend, do the perfect Buddhas teach, speaking the truth, speaking in due season, speaking what is real, what is full of meaning, what is certain, not what is false and uncertain, speaking in accordance with the dharma and the Discipline.

(174)" Once upon a time, my pious friend, when the Buddha had gone to Ṛiṣivadana near Benares, to the grove there, on the day he set rolling the noble wheel of dharma, a Tuṣita deva, named Śikharadhara, who was a Bodhisattva, went to speak to him in person, and greeted him with respect and deference.[1] Bowing, and holding out his joined hands he said,

Hail! Thy voice, O beautiful one, knows no obstruction. Hail to thee! Thy voice is rich, perfect and pleasant. Hail! Thy voice possesses sweet tone, and is endued with melodious timbre. Hail, great sage, who proclaimest the Four Truths.

Hail! The Gandharva devas imbibe thy sweet music. Hail! Here thou settest rolling the irresistible wheel of dharma that obeys thy command.[2]

There is none in the world equal to thee in form, beauty, birth and strength, in the four postures, in energy, in meditation, in knowledge, in calm and in self-control.

To-day, valiant sage, with thy first exhortation, ten koṭis *of devas were thrilled and led to the first fruition.*[3]

O valiant lord, with thy second exhortation, thou didst lead thirty koṭis *to the first fruition.*

Fifty koṭis *more of devas were converted by thee, O sage, with thy third exhortation, and were delivered from the desolate ways.*

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[1] *Sapratīsa*, a Buddhist Sanskrit form corresponding to Pali *sappaṭissa* from *paṭi-sunāti* (*prati-śru*). It occurs again in the *Mahāvastu* at 2. 258; 3. 345, and 372, the form varying between *sapratīsa* and *sapratīśa*.

[2] Reading after one MS. *anuvartikaṃ* "following," "obedient," "compliant" for the *anivartikaṃ* of the text, which would mean "not returning" or "not to be rolled back." As has been seen (p. 33 note 7) the *Mahāvastu* never speaks of the "rolling back" of the wheel of dharma.

[3] *I.e.* to the first stage in the Way, or "entering the stream." (*See below*)

(175)*Eighty* koṭis *more of devas didst thou tame, O lord, with thy third exhortation, to the fruition of entering the stream,*[1] *and didst deliver from the ways of ill.*

Hence there is none equal to thee in friendliness, O supreme of men. Compassionate, thou art still greater in compassion, O heroic man.

In joy, great sage, are the valiant men[2] *born ; to the whole world are they gracious. They live their lives for the welfare of all beings.*

A very long time ago, thou man of strength, thou wast born in the world as a king's son, a leader of the lost, a gladdening guide of the afflicted.

May our revered saviour never disappear, for thy strength, O kinsman of the world, is boundless.

By thy power, Self-becoming One, states of desolation are become of no account. Through thee, O Man Supreme, the heavens are rendered inadequate.[3]

Thanks to thee, O Very Man, he who belongs to the class of people[4] *whose wrongdoing is fixed in its consequences*[5] *achieves the class where no consequences are entailed.*

O thou of illustrious birth, he who belongs to the class where actions entail no consequences will, thanks to thee,

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[1] Another metaphorical expression, equivalent to the Way. A *śrotāpanna* (Pali, *sotāpanna*) has destroyed the first three fetters. (See below p. 150 and *D.* 1. 156, etc.)

[2] *Sc.* Bodhisattvas.

[3] *I.e.* to hold all those who merit to be reborn there.

[4] Literally, "he whose class is the class of people"; *rāśi*, "a heap" is an Abhidhamma term for "class," "category," *etc.*

[5] *mithyātvaniyata*, literally, "fixed in wrongfulness," but as the commentary on *Dhammasangaṇi* (1028) says, *niyata* here has the especial sense of "fixed in its consequences" or "reaching down to." Three *rāśis* are usually given, *e.g. D.* 3. 217. *Tayo rāsī. Micchattaniyato rāsi, sammattaniyato rāsi, aniyato rāsi*, "Three heaps, to wit, that of wrong-doing entailing immutable evil results, that of well-doing entailing immutable good results, and that of everything not so determined" (Rhys Davids, *Dial.* 3.210). The use of *rāsi* to denote a class of things or actions is still more clearly seen in *Kvu.* 610. In the *Dhammasangaṇi* (*l.c.*) three states (*dhammā*) are distinguished on the basis of the same differentia. The P.T.S. *Pali Dictionary* is incorrect in saying that Buddhist Sanskrit knows of only two *rāśis*, for even if the metre of the text here does not allow of the emendation of *samyaktatejakulodita* into the full name of the third *rāśi*, *samyaktvaniyata*, the *samyak* of this compound must be taken as qualifying *rāśi* and serving, in its truncated form, for the whole compound—a mnemonic use of abbreviation which we meet with elsewhere in the *Mahāvastu* (e.g. 1. 86). All the three *rāśis* are also mentioned in Vol. 3, p. 318. In both the *Mahāvastu* passages it seems simpler to take *rāśi* in the sense of a class of people rather than of things or actions. Cf. also 1. 316.

that art extolled of Suras, reach the class where righteousness is fixed in its consequences.

O Man of Light, thanks to thee, the steadfast dispeller of darkness, the pure radiance of wondrous states is won.

(176) *Whilst thou speakest of these true states, O Valiant Conqueror, the worlds, together with Indra, extol thy voice, O Great Sage.*

Thus with gladsome hearts the hosts of devas praise the Beneficent One who is endowed with boundless virtue, who is worthy of praise, and is the supreme of men.

"Perfect Buddhas, my pious friend, are ready to serve[1]; are able to perceive the right occasion; have clear sight; discern the high and the low; are good at the beginning and at the end[2]; raise the banner of dharma, the invincible banner; are eager in fight and combat; are eloquent; know what is deathless, and on occasion practise charity at the cost of their lives.[3] They urge on the blind, and rebuke those who go along the devious ways.

"On this matter it is said":—

Altogether perfect in qualities, intent on all things that are salutary, leaders and saviours that they are, all the Buddhas are praised by wise men.

With unconfused knowledge, with pure mind, they shine in the three worlds like the full moon in the sky.

Instinct with perfect virtue, they are leaders of men by their pleasing and lovely conduct. They raise a great shout.

The heroes, bent on rendering service, instruct men, and with an insight into truth quell the strife of others.

The best of men, though born into the world, are not besmirched by it. The lords, profound in their attributes, are beyond description.

(177) *Having shouldered their heavy yoke, the wise ones*

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[1] ? *upacāravidhisampannā*, "endowed with the rule of *or* disposition to, service."

[2] *Pūrvāntanayasampannā*, "endowed with (good) conduct at the beginning and at the end." This is, no doubt, an echo of the well-known Pali formula describing *dhamma* as *ādikalyānaṃ majjhekalyānaṃ pariyosānakalyānaṃ*, "beautiful in the beginning, in the middle, and in the end."

[3] *Āvusādayanto. Āvusā* is taken by Senart as a Prakritism for *āyuṣā*. Cf. Pali *āvuso* for *āyusmanto*, pl. of *āyusman* (for the regular Pali *āyasmant*). If the reading is correct, *dayanto* is also a Prakritism from *dadāti*, literally "giving up their lives."

do not falter, but, suiting actions to their words, they are of irreproachable conduct.

With the fire of knowledge the lords burn the noxious poisonous weed of false belief, and without fear or trembling they hold out to men the prospect of the beyond.

The valiant men, having traversed the wilderness and attained peace, in their wisdom proclaim, "Here is the place where no terror is.

"Here is found no recurrence of old age and death and disease. Here is experienced no event of tribulation or sorrow."

Devas and men hearing his[1] *sweet words and paying due heed to them, attain to that well-being.*

Therefore their renown is spread far and wide and is supreme in the three worlds. The Buddhas fare onwards, praised of good men, and never do they rest.

APPARITIONS

"For the benefit of men, my pious friend, the Buddhas grant apparitions,[2] as, for example, when the Exalted One produced one for the king of Kalinga,[3] for Queen Kusumā, and for the merchant Dhruva."

Thus, too, in the chief city of Rājagṛiha, the Exalted One produced an apparition,(178) *and then he who is skilful in his expedients, explained to Upāli*[4] *the words spoken by the apparition.*[5]

[1] A change from plural to singular, from the subject of Buddhas in general to that of an individual Buddha.

[2] A very inadequate rendering for *paropahāra* (here) and *upahāra* (below). These two terms are unknown in this sense either in Pali or in classical Sanskrit. *Upahāra* properly means "gift" (cf. *upaharati*, the verb here translated by "grant"), and this meaning underlies the usage here. But the term here also connotes, first, that the "gift" consists of moral or religious instruction, and, secondly, that the instruction is given by "apparitions" miraculously produced by the Buddha. This second connotation is more explicitly expressed by the term *paropahāra*, "a gift (of instruction in the person of) another." *Vacanopahāram* on this page must be changed to *ca paropahāraṃ*, as it is entirely a question of producing a miraculous apparition, but on page 178 the same word is to the point as it is a question of explaining to Upāli an "apparition of speech", *i.e.* the words spoken by an apparition.

[3] Or *Kālinga*, "one of the seven political divisions mentioned in the time of the mythical King Reṇu." (*D.P.N.*)

[4] "One of the most eminent of the Buddha's immediate disciples" (*ibid*).

[5] See note 1 at end.

In the same way the lion-hearted speaker, the master of those who have won self-mastery, produced another apparition for those assembled on the slopes of Mount Meru, and the Exalted One, the great sage, told of it to his brotherhood of monks.

I shall relate all these edifying apparitions. Listen to the tale of the pleasant diversion of the Chief of Men.

When the Best of Men appeared in the world and the wheel of dharma was set rolling, a king of Kalinga was reigning in prosperity and peace.

Abhaya[1] *was his name, and this is what he professed. Good and bad acts alike, he said, bear no fruit. Such was his belief.*

As there is no world beyond, there is no reward for charity anywhere. There is none to be found who is rid of passion, hatred and folly.

Having come to this belief he assembled his people and preached to them his own views, nor did he afterwards abandon his belief.

"If," said he, "my own dead father would appear of his own accord before my eyes and speak to me, then and only then should I believe in this other world.

"In his life-time he was always virtuous and benevolent, (**179**)*and if there is any reward for this, his bourne should be the city of the devas.*

"And being thus a deva and aware of the belief I hold, he would come and rid me of it, saying, 'There is another world; abandon that wrong belief of yours.'

"Let my father come from that other world of which we have no experience, and make glad my mind."

Then the Sage, merciful and strongly confident, out of compassion for the world, fashioned[2] *himself in the form of Kalinga's King.*

He went up to the palace and entered the inner court, where he showed himself as Abhaya's father looked when living.[3]

[1] Otherwise unknown.

[2] *Nirmiṇāti* (= Pali *nimmināti*), with its compound *abhinirmiṇāti*, is the verb used throughout this passage in the sense of 'fashioning miraculously' or 'conjuring up'.

[3] Literally " in his natural, or ordinary, form," *prakṛitidarśanaṃ*.

Then the Supreme of Men, in the guise of a king, and hovering in the air, spoke these words of wisdom to King Abhaya :—

"It does not become a king to neglect his own affairs and concern himself only with the affairs of others. Kingship is only kingship in name when it is associated with false doctrines.

"At present your destiny can only be the great and pitiless hell, as is also the destiny of those whom you have taught.

"Destroyed yourself, you[1] *destroy others ; ruined yourself, you ruin others. Blind yourself, you make others blind without scruple.*

"Deluded yourself, you delude others ; dead yourself, you cause others to die. You evil-minded man, you bring happy beings to woe.

"Plunged in the mire of lusts, libidinous, infatuated by sensual desires,(180) *you want to see the other world,*[2] *and yet a king should have insight into all states.*[3]

"That is not possible for you, O king, since your whole aim is to gratify your senses. You cannot, my lord, go to this other world just yet.

"But if you will learn to free yourself of lust, recognising the sweet allurement of sensual pleasures, and the wickedness thereof, I know that you will come to me in heaven."

When he heard this, King Abhaya trembled with fear, and, bowing, he said to that fair vision in the air,

"I believe thee, deva, that this is so and not otherwise. Be gracious to me, saviour, and deliver me from fear.

"Stay in this palace as my counsellor and teacher, O peerless man, for, trained by thee I shall win mastery, and so shall many others with me."

In this way then did the perfectly wise one produce an apparition for the edification of men.

Again, there was the famous Kusumā, queen of King

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[1] In the text the verbs of this stanza are 3rd pers. sing., which makes it appear to be a quotation applicable to the case of Abhaya. For the sake of uniformity the 2nd pers. has been used in translating.

[2] *I.e.*, before believing in it.

[3] Literally " is (or should be) the eye of all states," *dharmāṇāṃ nayanaṃ*.

Kusumbha,[1] *and the best-beloved and chief of his thousand wives.*

Her mother and father were infirm with age, and leaning on their staffs. And they spoke and said to their daughter, "Kusumā, dear child, listen.

"We are old, you are young and feeling passion's stir. (181) *We want to be rid of this world and die."*

When she heard this Kusumā thought to herself, "What blame can I incur in killing mother and father? I will give them food drugged with deadly poison. By eating this they both will surely die."

When Kusumā had formed this cruel design against her mother and father, the Master took pity on her. The Buddha produced two other persons fashioned like her parents and made them stand before Kusumā. Kusumā got ready[2] *the poisoned food and bade the phantoms,*[3] *saying, "Take this food, mother and father."*

The creatures fashioned by the Conqueror took the food without shrinking, but it did not harm their bodies, for they were but phantoms.

And so on the second day, the third, the fourth, and even the fifth, although they ate of the poisoned food, the phantom creatures retained their health.

Then stretching out her joined hands to them, Kusumā spoke to the phantoms and said, "Tell me who you are, if I find favour with you."

In reply to her humble request one of the phantoms said, (182) *"Learn what your fault is, and do as we advise you.*

"The Buddha, the man of valour, who bears the thirty-two marks of excellence, has appeared in the world, born of a good family, and endowed with the attribute of omniscience.

"All the inherent virtue of the lion-hearted man of eloquence is known to stand for the future, as it has done in the past. Have no doubt of this.

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[1] Both otherwise unknown.

[2] *Āpadyati*, an unusual sense, but this is the reading in two MSS., and is better than the *āpagatā* of others.

[3] *Nirmitān*, from *nirmiṇati*. See note p. 141.

"Let the king then go up to his palace attended by his women-folk and pray thus : 'We wish to see him who discerns all that is good.'

"Praising him who is endowed with all good qualities, let him go to him for refuge. The Conqueror will then declare to you what you now ask of us."

"So be it," said she in obedience to the phantoms, and immediately the king with his women-folk went up to his palace.

Hurriedly, along with his women-folk, and Kusumā too, he bowed, his hands reverently joined, and spoke these words,

"Exceeding great is the joy derived from the homage paid to them who are gifted with all virtues and are full of compassion for the worlds."

Then the Master addressed the monks who delighted in his teaching, Cāruvarṇa,[1] *Siṃhahanu, and blameless Dṛiḍhabāhu,*

Kīrtimān, Mahānāga, Cāturanta, Mahābala, Nīlakeśa, Vṛiddha, Śānta, Śāstraviśārada.

And peerless Śārasa, blameless Guptakāma(**183**), *Siṃhanandi, Vīśālākṣa, and Lakṣaneya the incomparable.*

"Behold, monks, I go ; follow me your Master. I go to convert a great multitude, and Kusumā chief among them."

"So be it," said the self-becoming saints in obedience, and gathering round the Buddha, they said,

"O valiant one, our two feet can traverse the air. We will follow wherever the clear-seeing Buddha goes."

In his compassion for men, the Exalted One attended by his disciples arrived in an instant in Kusumā's city.

The Leader took on the form of the wielder of the thunderbolt,[2] *and sure in his powers of thought,*[3] *he called to mind a host of devas.*

The supremely wise one shed his radiance all around for fourteen yojanas, *while devas greeted his progress.*

[1] All these seem to be unknown to the Pali Canon, nor is it easy to distinguish between epithets and proper names.

[2] *I.e.* Indra.

[3] *Dhyāna*, here not used in the strict doctrinal sense of " meditation." The meaning is that such was the Buddha's power of thought that he had only to think of the devas for them to appear on the scene.

Then Queen Kusumā, bowing, said to the Sugata, "With my hands joined in veneration, I would salute thy feet, O saviour."

The Master alighted on the roof of the palace, and in his glory flooded all quarters with his radiance. Queen Kusumā, with the King, saluted the Conqueror's feet, and the queen's escort, too, bowed down before the strong man.

"O Best of Men," said she, "we come to thee for refuge, to thee that art adored by Suras. What fruit does that one reap who has killed his mother and father?"

(184)*"Hear, Kusumā, what the certain retribution is that awaits the one who has killed his mother and father. Immediately after this life he is reborn in the hell Mahāvīci."*

Then the eloquent Master, the Leader, with a Buddha's power, described Mahāvīci to Kusumā.

And Queen Kusumā, terrified at this dire hell, shed floods of tears and spoke these words:—

"I was moved by pity for my parents. What then is the retribution that awaits him in the world beyond who kills with evil intent? Pray tell me the truth of this."

"He who would do so, Kusumā, out of an evil heart, could not be rid of his disposition. And this is the retribution for his wrong-doing that awaits[1] *him in the other world."*

Then in the presence of the king of dharma Kusumā joyfully and gladly renounced her cruel design.

And the Omniscient One spoke of the sweet allurement of the pleasures of sense; the Supreme of Men spoke of the peril of sensual desires.

He whose thought is intrepid spoke of the escape from sensual delights; the discerner of truth spoke of the wonderful blessings of Nirvana.

The Sage converted twelve koṭis *of human beings, with Kusumā chief among them. Such then was this apparition.*

There was also a merchant named Dhruva in the city of Kāśivardhana,[2] *and he held a sinful view concerning the treatment of mothers and fathers.*

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[1] *Sadyam*, according to Senart, a Sanskritisation of *sajja*, "ready," "imminent."

[2] Otherwise unknown, but obviously situated in Kāśi.

He held that whoso should invite his aged and decrepit mother and father(185) *to a family meal and regale them with food,*

And should then burn both his parents on the funeral pyre, would have a reward[1] *assigned him, for the merit of such a man would be boundless.*

The Leader accordingly created thousands of Rākṣasas, and these stood before Dhruva as he slept in his fine mansion.

In their hands were scourges, whips, swords, hammers, knives and fire-brands,

And clubs and hundreds of arrows, and lances and mallets, as they stood before the merchant.

"Vile man," said they, "it is indeed an accursed belief that you have formed. As you hold this accursed and perverse view, you are not worthy to be believed.

"Now that misfortunes have come upon them, you wish the death of those who in days gone by succoured you with loving hearts in all your hardships.

"You wish the death of those who would not be adequately repaid by their son even though he gave them all his wealth.

"It were better for you to die than live and hold such a view. You who reject the belief on which the Best of Men acts.

"This day your life comes to an end, as well as that of your wife, of your kinsmen, of your servant, and of your son. And when you die you will pass to hell.

"And there may you and yours be happy, sir! We consign to perdition the merchant Dhruva, with his false belief, his stupid and ignorant mind,

(186)*"Who seduces*[2] *other men with his sinful belief, and despises Āryan teaching."*

When he heard this, Dhruva became distressed, perspiring over all his body; he was humbled and terrified.

He became perplexed, distracted and scared. Then raising his joined hands, he said,

[1] *Upahāra*, here used in practically its ordinary sense of "offering," "gift," *etc.*, but the reading is very doubtful, apart from the fact that the word is used in these narratives in another and special sense.

[2] *Grāhenta*, here with two accusatives, of the object and of the means; but at p. 189, text, with accusative of the object and instrumental of the means.

"May the host of the Rākṣasas be gracious to me and mine! Be ye my sanctuary, my shelter and my refuge!

"Make known what I can do this day to deliver myself and my people from fear, and not pass to the bourne of ill."

And those hosts of Rākṣasas hovering in the air thus made answer to Dhruva the merchant: "Come not to us for refuge. Seek rather the refuge of him,

"Who desires the welfare of all beings, the Buddha who is adored by devout men, who is above all worlds, the lion-hearted eloquent Śākyan, the joy of men's minds."

"Where now, I pray you, is the Exalted One who is worshipped of men? For I would go for refuge to him, the Sage, the Best of Men."

"He who is endowed with all good qualities is in the city of Ratanakholaka,[1] *in the fragrant park there that is strewn with variegated flowers.*

"There, surrounded by ninety-thousand saints, abides the Sage who is wise and proficient in the moral states.[2]

(187)*"To that refuge go with all your people. Look on that sun among men and abandon your false belief.*

"And consider with understanding the fair dharma that he will teach you by means of examples.[3] *Thus will life be yours.*

"If you go not to the Buddha, you will not be worthy of the name of Dhruva,[4] *for your death will be near.*[5] *Believe our counsel and act accordingly."*

Then Dhruva, the merchant, with his people, in all humility bowed his head to the ground where the Supreme of Men was standing, and said,

"O Sage, who art gifted with all virtuous qualities, the great, compassionate one, I with my folk come to thee for refuge, O thou of great glory.

"To the fearful thou who endest fear can give fearlessness. And I, with my people, am wholly possessed by fear, O Great Being.

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[1] Otherwise unknown.

[2] *Vihāra*, see note p. 30.

[3] Literally "the dharma arranged in (or supplied with) examples," *driṣṭāntavihitaṃ*.

[4] A play on the word *dhruva*, "firm, stable, lasting." "You do not deserve to be called Mr. Steadfast."

[5] *Sadya*, see note p. 145.

"I desire to extol the ways of the Master, O thou most eloquent. I wish to see the True Man, if so it be that we are worthy of the favour."

Then out of his compassion for men the Leader appeared, arriving in an instant and attended by his saints. Seeing him hovering in the air, self-controlled, calm and honoured, (188)*graciously appearing to him and his folk, the merchant went up to the Refuge, the tiger in eloquence, and learned from him what a good son should believe.*

The Best of Men, the Tathāgata, the sage, the truthful one, understanding the merchant's fault, proclaimed the Four Truths.

The Lord, a sun among men, like a lion roaring in the forest, explained at length the fruit of good and bad acts.

The merchant, with his people, hearing that lion's roar, immediately won the salutary and true fruition.

Such a service as was then rendered by the great Seer is called an upahāra[1] *by those expert in philosophy.*

Again, there was in a certain island continent a king named Taru,[2] *and he had formed a sinful and frivolous view,*

Namely that whosoever, after inviting a brāhman, a recluse, or any other wayfarer, did not then give him food, bore an excellent character.

And so with regard to whosoever invited a crowd of any people from śūdras[3] *to brāhmans, and then clapped them in prison and let them starve.*

(189)*At that time there appeared in yet another of his existences, the noble, the mighty and glorious Lord, arrayed in rich garments and jewels.*

Now the king was seducing his subjects with that wicked opinion of his, for the crowd listened to him and believed.

The Sage, extolled of devas and Gandharvas, aware of this belief of the king's, in an instant created five thousand monks.

These saints went to the island where Taru was king, and wandered and roamed through his kingdom.

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[1] See note p. 146.
[2] Otherwise unknown.
[3] *I.e.* the fourth or lowest caste.

When the king saw those who had been created in the likeness of monks, he saluted their feet as they sailed down from the air, and said,

"With true joy I invite you, seers, to a repast. Let the seers accept if I find favour with them."

When he saw that they accepted, he saluted the seers' feet, hurried away and came to his palace.

And when he saw that night had passed into day, he bade his servant go to the monks and invite them, saying the meal was ready.

The seers were conducted by the king into a wonderful prison, which was perfectly secure and well-fitted with firm bolts.

When the seventh day was past the king went to visit them. (190)*They who were in the guise of monks were quietly meditating, serene of countenance.*

The king again abandoned the phantom creations, and at the end of the second week he paid them another visit.

And so for the third, the fourth, the fifth, the sixth, the seventh, the ninth, and the tenth week. Then he said,

"Whether you are Nāga devas, Gandharvas, Yakṣas, Guhyakas or Asuras, you have come in the guise of seers to confound me.

"Make known to me who you are, if I find favour with you. In the same way, he who will make himself known to me will find favour with me."

They replied, "Favour is shown you, O king. Therefore heed the words we truthfully speak.

"In Kāśi's capital city, in Benares, in the fair forest there, abides the Master, who is perfect in all things, who is the dispeller of all doubt."

Then the king, with his people, went up to his palace, and bowed and prayed, saying, "We wish to see the Best of Men, the incomparable man."

The Master, hearing this, forthwith arose, and flying through the air came to the island.

And the four saints[1] *Kunjara, Karabhogaja,*(191) *Vāraṇa and gracious Mahādhyāyin came thither with him.*

[1] *Vāraṇa* appears to be the only one of these names to be found in the Pali Canon ; the two persons are not necessarily identical.

When the other monks saw the Buddha shining like the moon, they reverently and enthusiastically sang the praises of the teacher of dharma.

With devotion in their hearts, glad, and endued with all good qualities, they sang, "O saviour of devas and men, homage to thee, O boon of men.[1]

"O mighty being, great in majesty, splendour, knowledge and power, reveal truly who thou art, we pray thee."

"I, born of a royal race, established as king of dharma, am the refuge of all living things. Men know that I am Buddha.

"I am the saviour of devas and men, guide and physician ; I am he who puts an end to doubt. I am perfect Buddha, adored by devas."

When he heard this King Taru addressed the Buddha, saying, " Homage to thee, O tiger in eloquence, O thou dispeller of doubt.

"Behold me here come to my palace with my folk. I and my realm turn to thee, O true man, for refuge. Be therefore a refuge to us all."

Then the king described his belief to the great Seer, and when he had heard it the Valiant One said to the king,

"It does not profit you, O king, to believe in the sinful way that leads to the bourne of ill.(**192**) *Renounce this belief of yours."*

The king renounced his belief and said, "O wise one, teach me the dharma whereby ill is suppressed."

And the Supreme of Men, assured in his Buddhahood, considered how the merit of all those people befitted them to hear dharma.[2]

The king and his people, having learnt dharma, cast off the three fetters,[3] *and won the first fruition.*

And countless other people won the first fruition. Behold, O worthy king, the incomparable power of love.[4]

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[1] Reading *naralañcaka* with three MSS. for *naralambaka*. See note p. 90.

[2] ? *dharmasaṃyuktam kuśalam*, " the merit relative to dharma."

[3] *Saṃyojanāni*. The " fetters " or bad qualities that bind men to rebirth are usually given as ten in number, but three are especially grouped together in the Pali texts, as here, *viz. sakkāyadiṭṭhi, vicikicchā* and *sīlabbataparāmasa*, *i.e.* " belief in individuality, doubt, and infatuation with good works " (*Pali Dictionary*).

[4] This sounds very much like an interpolation.

Those created as monks here are not to be considered real monks. This is what the Conquerors, confident in their teaching, call an upahāra.

It is impossible, O son of the Conqueror, that the Tathāgatas should attain omniscience before this, when they are still in the low bhūmis.[1]

But once they have passed through the bhūmis, *they attain it without loss of time.*[2] *This is what the tigers in eloquence, the Supreme Men, teach.*

When he had come to the forest at Benares, the Leader, honoured for his Buddhahood, expounded the ten bhūmis *at length.*

The Buddhas, who understand good and bad conduct, know all the thoughts of others. In their various existences they examine the dispositions of all beings.

By the gentle eloquent guidance of him who has insight into worth (193) *many men are converted by the understanding Buddha.*

Those who have drawn nigh to the highest friend and are converted by his wisdom, are in no wise reborn, nor grow old, nor die.

All the wise Buddhas, with bodies all radiant, severally discover the profound way of life, which is of infinite light.

Here ends the tenth *bhūmi*, called the "Consecrational,"[3] of the *Mahāvastu-Avadāna*.

The introductory instruction contained in the section on the ten *bhūmis* was proclaimed on Mount Gṛiddhakūṭa[4] in an assembly of five hundred saints. Here ends the section on the ten *bhūmis*.

The doctrine of the ten *bhūmis* must be taught by those who aspire after enlightenment, and presented to those who trust in the right-thinking Bodhisattvas, but not to others. For the former are ready to believe; those others would doubt.

Here ends the section on the *bhūmis* from the first to the tenth, being an introduction[5] to the *Mahāvastu*.

[1] *I.e.* in the relatively low or gross *bhūmis* (*sthūlahi bhūmihi*) of the Bodhisattvas.
[2] *Kālaṃ va na-atināmenti.* This verb is so used in Pali also.
[3] The first instance of the naming of a *bhūmi* in this formula.
[4] For *Gṛidhrakūṭa.*
[5] ? *parisara.* Unles should read *parivarta,* " chapter."

THE HISTORY OF DĪPAṂKARA

The beginning of the history of Dīpaṃkara.[1]

An immeasurable, incalculable *kalpa* ago, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, there was a universal king, named Arcimat,[2] who was virtuous, mighty, possessing the seven treasures, sovereign over the four continents, triumphant, blessed with devoted subjects in town and country, righteous, a king of righteousness, and pursuing the ten right ways of behaviour. His were the seven treasures, to wit, the treasure of the wheel, of the elephant, the horse, the jewel, the woman, the householder, and the counsellor. He had a full thousand sons, who were valiant, brave, comely, and vanquishers of the armies of their foes. The king dwelt in complete ascendancy over these four continents, which were girt by ocean and mountain, and held them in peace and quiet, ruling by righteousness and not by means of the scourge, the sword, and oppression. (**194**)King Arcimat, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, had a royal city named Dīpavatī, which extended twelve *yojanas* east and west, and seven *yojanas* south and north. It was encircled by seven ramparts made of gold and covered with gold.

Again, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, the royal city of Dīpavatī was surrounded by seven rows of bright and beautiful palm-trees of the seven precious substances, gold, silver, pearl, beryl, crystal, white coral, and ruby. The palm-tree which had a trunk of gold had leaves and fruit of silver; the palm-tree with a trunk of silver, had leaves and fruit of pearl; the palm-tree with a trunk of pearl had leaves and fruit of beryl; the palm-tree with a trunk of beryl had leaves and fruit of crystal; the palm-tree with a trunk of crystal had leaves and fruit of white coral; the palm-tree with a trunk of white coral had leaves and fruit of ruby; and the palm-tree with a trunk of ruby had leaves and fruit of pearl. When these palm-trees, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, were stirred and fanned by the wind, their rustling was gentle, pleasant and charming, not grating

[1] Here related to Maudgalyāyana by Śākyamuni, who, however, once or twice is referred to in the third person in the course of the narrative.

[2] *Accima* in Pali.

on the ears, but like the sound of the five musical instruments played in harmony by skilled performers. Thus . . .[1] Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, at that time and on that occasion the men of the royal city of Dīpavatī were intoxicated by the music of the leaves of the palm-trees, and, endowed and provided with the pleasures of the five senses, they diverted, enjoyed and amused themselves.

Again, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, the royal city of Dīpavatī was encircled by seven bright and gleaming railings[2] of the seven precious substances,[3] gold, silver, pearl, beryl, crystal, white coral, and ruby. Where the pillar was of gold the cross-bars,[4](195) the supports,[5] and the base[6] were of silver; where the pillar was of silver, they were of pearls; where the pillar was of pearls, they were of beryl; where the pillar was of beryl, they were of crystal; where the pillar was of crystal, they were of white coral; where the pillar was of white coral, they were of rubies, and where the pillar was of ruby, they were of gold.

Again, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, these railings were covered with two net-like fabrics, one of gold, the other of silver. On the gold net-work there were silver bells; on the silver net-work, golden bells. And the royal city of Dīpavatī had three gates on every side, bright and beautiful, made of the seven precious substances, gold, silver, pearl, beryl, crystal, white

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[1] Lacuna.

[2] *Vedikājālā*. *Vedikā* from meaning "terrace" came to mean first "a terrace with balustrade," and then the "balustrade" itself, or "railings." Cf. *D.* 2. 179 (*Dial.* 2. 210) and *Mhvs. trsl.*, 220 and 296. *Vedikājāla* "a net-work of a balustrade" seems to be an attempt at a more specific term for "railings," and to denote railings consisting of close horizontal bars crossed by vertical ones at frequent intervals to give the effect of a "net" or a grille pattern. Cf. *jālavātapāna* at *V.* 2. 148 denoting a "latticed shutter" (or "window"). (The translator owes this reference to Miss I. B. Horner.)

[3] *Varṇa* for *ratna* or *ratana*.

[4] *Sūcikā*, cf. Pali *sūci*.

[5] *Ālambana*, cf. the same use in *Pali*.

[6] ? *adhiṣṭhānaka*, or, perhaps, "niches" or "look-out places," so interpreted by Senart on the assumption that the Chinese terms so translated by Beal correspond to the Sanskrit. The precise signification of all these terms is doubtful. The description of a similar "heavenly" city in the *Mahā-Sudassana Sutta* (*D.* 2, 169 ff) translated by Rhys Davids in *S.B.E*, xi, and *Dial.* 2. 199 ff., is much clearer in its details, but unfortunately does not afford much help in the interpretation of the *Mahāvastu* description. A. K. Coomaraswamy: *Indian Architectural Terms* (*J.A.O.S.*, 48, No. 3) takes *adhiṣṭhāna* to mean "a plinth," and refers to Mukherji: *Report on the Antiquities of the District of Lalitpur* (1899). (The translator owes this reference also to Miss I. B. Horner.)

coral and ruby. These gates had an arch[1] made of the two metals, gold and silver. These gates had beams[2] of two metals, gold and silver. They had flanking towers[3] of two metals, gold and silver. These gates had opening panels[4] of two metals, gold and silver. They were faced with plates[5] of two metals, gold and silver. They had *paṭimodakas*[6] of four precious substances, gold, silver, pearl and beryl. By these gates, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, were shrines for relics[7] built of two metals, gold and silver. In front of these gates were Indra-columns[8] made of four precious substances, gold, silver, pearl and beryl. These gates had swing-doors of two metals, gold and silver. The bolts were of two metals, gold and silver.

(**196**)Again, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, in front of these gates pillars were reared which were embedded in the ground to the depth of three men's lengths, were three men's lengths in circumference[9] and twelve men's lengths in height.[10] They were bright and beautiful, made of the seven precious substances, gold, silver, pearl, beryl, crystal, white coral and ruby. These gates, again, were encased in two net-like fabrics of gold and silver. The golden net-like fabric had bells of silver, and the silver one had bells of gold. And the rustling of these

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[1] ? *vyamotsanga*, from *vyama*, " diagonal ' (see Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v.*) and *utsanga*, " roof " ; the meaning possibly is " a pointed arch," *i.e.* a roof or arch of two sloping sides or diagonals.

[2] *Tulā*.

[3] *Anuvarga*, " keeping-off [towers]," from *vrij*, causative, " to keep off." Senart compares the " enemy-resisting towers " of Beal : *Romantic Legend*.

[4] *Phaṭikaphalaka*. *Phaṭika*, for *sphaṭika*, and *phalaka* are both from the same root **sphal* or **sphaṭ*, " to split," etc. *Phalaka* in its derived sense of " board " would denote a panel only, while (*s*)*phaṭika* would imply that it was divided or split in two, and so forming " wings." In any case we have here something which corresponds to the " white silver panels " of the *Romantic Legend*. Possibly this last description suggests that the translation should be " crystal panels," *sphaṭika*, also meaning " crystal," but unfortunately we are told they were of gold and silver.

[5] *Phalakastāra*, from *phalaka* and *stṛi*, " to spread."

[6] An obscure word. Perhaps we should read with 2 MSS. *paṭimoka*, and interpret this as equivalent to *pratimaukā* from *pratimā* + *oka*(*s*), " a house or niche for statues or images." Such a word does not seem to be known, but the reference in the next sentence to " temples for relics " seems to give this interpretation some plausibility. Senart's suggested derivation from *prati-mud* can give no apposite sense here.

[7] *Elūka* for *eḍuka*.

[8] *Indrakīlaka* (-*kīla*), Pali *Indakhīla*.

[9] *Parigohyāni*, Senart can only support this interpretation by the analogy of *upa-guh* in the sense of " to embrace."

[10] *Udvedha* = Pali *ubbedha*, from *ud-vedh*, from *vyadh*.

net-like fabrics, when moved and stirred by the wind, sounded sweet and pleasant and charming, not grating on the ear.[1]

Again, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, this royal city of Dīpavatī was full of such sounds as those of elephants, chariots, pedestrians, drums, tabors, cymbals, trumpets, flutes, lutes, songs, and musical instruments. It was full of cries bidding men to eat, consume, drink, give alms, do good deeds, live righteously, and of cries of welcome to recluses and brāhmans.

Again, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, in the centre of the royal city of Dīpavatī there was a pillar named Valguyā, which was bright and beautiful with the seven precious substances, gold, silver, pearl, beryl, crystal, white coral and ruby. It was twelve *yojanas* high and embedded in the ground to the depth of four.

Again, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, King Arcimat had a chief queen, named Sudīpā, who was gracious, lovely, majestic, and endowed with perfect beauty of complexion.

"In twelve years, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana,[2] the Bodhisattva Dīpaṃkara, will pass away from his existence in Tuṣita."**(197)** The Śuddhāvāsa devas proclaim to the Pratyekabuddhas, "The Bodhisattva is about to pass hence. Quit[3] ye the Buddha-field."[4]

> *From his life in Tuṣita, the Glorious One, who has the insight of infinite knowledge, will pass away. Quit ye the field of the Buddha, the Master who bears the marks of excellence.*
>
> *When the Pratyekabuddhas heard the Buddha proclaimed by these mighty lords[5] they passed away, emancipated, self-dependent and self-controlled.*[6]

"In twelve years, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana,[7] the Bodhisattva

[1] This is repeated, after a lacuna, but in both cases the comparison with the music of the five instruments played together, which is found on p. 194, is omitted.

[2] "Mahā-Maudgalyāyana" is obviously out of place here in a sentence which is a quotation of the words uttered in the far distant past, proclaiming the imminent departure of the bodhisattva Dīpaṃkara from Tuṣita.

[3] *Riñcatha*, cf. Pali *riñcati*, Sanskrit *ric*, *rinakti*, "to leave."

[4] See p. 95.

[5] *Maheśvara*—this is given in Senart's index as the proper name of a class of devas, but here the word is a descriptive title substituted for the proper name *Śuddhāvāsa devas*. See further note p. 178.

[6] These are obviously two traditional verses applicable to any Bodhisattva.

[7] See note 2.

Dīpaṃkara will pass away from his life in Tuṣita." The Śuddhāvāsa devas then disguised themselves as brāhmans, and instructed the brāhmans in the mantras, the Vedas, and the thirty-two marks of a Great Man, so that, when the Bodhisattva appeared in the world, they should be able to declare his buddhahood.

Then, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, when it became time for the Bodhisattva to leave his abode in Tuṣita, he made four great surveys, to wit, of the time, the region, the continent, and the family in which he should be born.

Bodhisattvas are born in one of two classes of families, either noble or brāhman. The family in which Bodhisattvas are born is endowed with sixty qualities. What sixty? Such a family, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, is distinguished, well-known, and dignified. It is of high birth and lineage, with a long, distinguished and powerful ancestry, and rich in women and men. It is not greedy, nor covetous. It is without fear or baseness; it is intelligent, virtuous, not bent on hoarding riches, but rather making use of its wealth. It is steadfast in friendship, grateful and devout.[1] Its conduct is not motived by partiality, nor by malice, (**198**) nor by folly, nor by fear[2]. It is irreproachable and hospitable.[3] It is manly-minded, and steadfastly heroic. It honours shrines, devas and ancestors. It is zealous in duty, keen on charity, and intent upon religious observances. It maintains its continuity[4] and is well-spoken of among the devas.[5] It is foremost, supreme, pre-eminent among families, and has ascendancy over other families. It wields great power, and has a large, tireless, faithful and loyal retinue. It respects mothers, fathers, recluses, brāhmans and noble families. It is rich in wealth, treasuries and granaries, elephants, horses, cattle and sheep, in female and male slaves and in servants. It is inviolable by strangers, adversaries and foes. That family, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, in which Bodhi-

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[1] *Vidhijña*, "knowing the rule (of religion)" or perhaps "knowing the law," "law-abiding."

[2] These are the four *agatis* or evil ways of living.

[3] *Sthūlabhikṣa*, literally "having plenty of food," like *subhikṣa*, Pali *subhikkha*. But as it is moral qualities that are recounted just here, the translation given above seems better. It is tempting to amend the word to *sthūlalakṣa* or °*lakṣya*, "liberal," "munificent," *etc.*

[4] ? *Labdhapūrvāpara*, "with what is before and after gained or kept."

[5] ? *Abhidevaghoṣaghuṣṭa*.

sattvas are born is endowed with these sixty qualities. Those beings who are blessed with such a family come to have the "great compassion."[1]

Thus, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, when it was time for him to pass away, the Bodhisattva made his great preparation. A certain deva addressed the thousands of other devas, saying "Be reborn in the sixteen great provinces,[2] in the interior districts, in the rich families of nobles, householders, kings, and kings' counsellors. As you have been trained in the Discipline, the mass of the people will in their turn accept it."

At the time of his passing away, the Bodhisattva scanned the quarters of the world, looking for a place in which he should be born. "This King Arcimat," thought he, "is virtuous, powerful, a universal king, a king over the four continents. He is worthy to be my father."

(199)He then sought a mother who should be gracious, of good birth, pure of body, of tender passion, and short-lived, of whose span of life only seven nights and ten months remained.

The mothers of all Bodhisattvas die on the last of the seven days after they are delivered of the Supreme of Men.

Now what is the reason that a mother of an All-knowing One should die so soon after giving birth to the Best of Men?

While he is still dwelling in Tuṣita, the Bodhisattva exercises great mindfulness in his search for a mother whose karma is good.

For he must descend into the womb of a woman who has only seven nights and ten months of her life remaining.

And why so? Because, says he, it is not seemly that she who bears a peerless one like me should afterwards indulge in love.

But if, on the other hand, the mother[3] *of the Sugata should*

[1] *I.e.* Bodhisattvas born in such a family are marked out as destined to attain a Buddha's attribute of "great compassion" for the world.

[2] These are referred to again, but not enumerated, at 2. 2 and 3. 394. They are to be found enumerated at *A.* 1. 213. Cf. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 23.

[3] In the text the reading is *pratiseveyu: kāmāṃ sugatamātari na pitā,* "if (the father) had intercourse with the mother would he not be said by the hosts of devas to be violating his duty?" But this makes *pitā*, or the understood personal pronoun standing for it, the subject of a plural verb. Senart therefore suggests the pl. *mātaro, i.e.* "if the mothers indulge in love," and for *na pitā, nṛipati* as the subject of *vakṣyate,* "the king will be said." *Devasanghānām* is a Buddhist Sanskrit use of the genitive for the instrumental.

indulge in the pleasures of love, the hosts of devas would say that the king was violating his duty.

The Exalted One, indeed, at all times, proclaims the depravity of sensual desires. Shall, then, the mother of the saviour of the world indulge in love?

[To take an illustration from] the jewel-caskets which are found in the palaces of princes, the Best of Men is the jewel, his mother the casket.

While he carefully searched, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, the Bodhisattva saw (**200**) Sudīpā, the queen of Arcimat, king of the royal city of Dīpavatī. He saw that she was gracious, of good birth, pure of body, tender of passion, of whose span of life only seven nights and ten months were left.

As he contemplates the world he sees in Arcimat's court Sudīpā, a woman like the consort of an immortal, radiant as the lightning's flash.

Seeing in her his mother he says to the immortals, "I am passing hence. For the last time I take up my abode in a woman's womb for the sake of devas and men."

The deva host, arrayed in fine jewels, raised their joined hands and answered him saying, "O man supreme, whose beauty is sublime, may thy vow prosper.

"And we also, for the world's sake and to do thee honour, thou deva above all devas,[1] *shall renounce the sweet enjoyment of the pleasures of sense and go to dwell in the world of men."*

Exultantly they rained down from the sky a shower of spotless, bright and pure flowers of the coral-tree, speaking sweet words the while:

"How marvellous it is that thou dost not delight in the abodes of the immortals, where sweet peace reigns, where is no tribulation nor sorrow, and dost not indulge in the pleasures of sense.

"Marvellous is it, too, that, excelling the deva hosts and shining like a mountain of gold, O mighty Sura, thou illuminest the ten quarters of the world.

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[1] The parallel passage in 2. 4 has *anindita* for *atideva*. The variations in such similar parallel passages seem to betoken an oral rather than a written transmission.

"Thou, whose intelligence is infinite, excellest the Maheśvaras[1] *and Dānavas,*[2] *the hosts of Māra, and the stars that move in the sky—this also is a wonder.*

"How can we then not be loth to part from thee, Master of all that is? (201)*For thou, O lotus-eyed, wilt become the bourne of devas and men."*

Thus, at the time and on the occasion of the descent of him whose eye was like the bright hundred-petalled lotus, did the glad hosts shout through all quarters of the world.

And such was the talk that went round in the city of Tuṣita, whilst she, the peerless Sudīpā, the chief wife of King Arcimat, went up to him and spoke. She, Sudīpā, with eyes like a young fawn's, radiant like a Gandharva's wife, and dusky, spoke thus persuasively[3] *and sweetly to Arcimat:*

"Adorned with jewels, wearing my choicest raiment, and attended by my friends, I wish, O mighty king, to spend this night away from you.

"O Best of Men, I would go up to the highest part of the fair palace of Śataraśmi,[4] *to the fair spotless bed there that is covered as though with lotuses."*

Pleased with the charming speech of his queen, King Arcimat, with joyful intent addressed his courtiers, saying,

"Quickly let them tell me where Śataraśmi is. Have the place wreathed in fair flowers, and strewn with heaps of flowers, like an abode of a deva in heaven.

"Speedily make Śataraśmi resplendent with festoons of fine cloth, have it covered with a network of gold, that in appearance it be like Meru's fair summit.

"Let an entire army,[5] *bristling with spears, arrows and lances, at once stand guard over Śataraśmi's stately pile*[6]*."*

All was done as the king had commanded; and when they had made all things ready, his courtiers approached the king and said,

[1] Unless *Maheśvara* is a descriptive title, " the Dānavas, the great lords."
[2] *I.e.* Asuras, so-called as being descended from Danu.
[3] *Sahitam.* See note p. 115.
[4] Otherwise unknown.
[5] Literally " four-limbed," *caturangī, i.e.* consisting of cavalry, infantry, charioteers and fighters on elephants.
[6] ? *manojñasaṃghāta.*

(202)*"May our great protector protect the race of men*[1] *for a full thousand years yet! All is ready. The noble mansion stands resplendent, and will give you a thrill of joy."*

Then the queen, looking like the consort of an immortal, rose up from her lovely couch and said to the king, just when the sun had set,

"I will cultivate harmlessness towards living things, and live the chaste life. I will abstain from theft, intoxication, and frivolous speech.

"I will, my lord, refrain from unkindly[2] *speech, and from slander. I will refrain from abusive speech. This is my resolve.*

"And I will not nurse envy of the pleasures of others, nor cause injury to living things. I will give up false views.

"And, O King, I will live in the practice of the eleven moralities.[3] *All night long has this resolve been stirring within me.*

"Do not then, I pray you, O King, desire me with thought of sensual enjoyment. See to it that you be guiltless of offence against me who would observe chastity."

The king replied "I shall have all your wishes fulfilled. Be at ease, you who have entered upon a noble life. I and my whole realm are at your command."

The queen then took her thousand beloved principal maidens, went up to the fair mansion, and lay down, her dear wish fulfilled.

And there on that bed of the colour of the snow-white lotus, she whiled away the time in silence, contentedly calm and self-controlled.

(203)*She laid down her beautiful body on its right side, her limbs clinging to the bed as a flowering creeper clings to a tree.*

Then espying the queen on her bed, beautiful as a celestial maiden, throngs of devas came down from their homes in Tuṣita and alighted on the terrace.

All these immortals joyfully bowing their heads, and raising their joined hands, lauded the virtuous queen, the Conqueror's mother, as she lay on her bed.

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[1] *Āyus*, for the usual *prajā* in this formula. Cf. *Mahāvastu* 2. 5. Senart quotes two passages of *Lal. Vist.* also (90. 14; 117. 11) which have *āyus*.

[2] *Akhila*, a peculiar use of this word as the opposite of *sakhila*. Cf. 2. 6. But in the parallel passage at 1. 145 we have *anṛita*.

[3] See note p. 115.

Then in great excitement a large throng of deva maidens carrying fair garlands came, eager to see the Conqueror's mother, and alighted on the terrace.

When they had come and had seen the queen on her bed, in beauty that dazzled like the lightning, they were filled with great joy and happiness, and showered on her flowers from heaven.

Having stood awhile in contemplation of such a comely and wondrous, albeit human, form, they said among themselves,[1] *"There is no woman like her to be found even among the wives of the devas.*

"Ah, dear friends, observe the loveliness of this woman; how befitting a Conqueror's mother it is. As she lies on her bed she is radiant and alluring, and gleams as with the sheen of gold.

"She will bear the Great Man who takes exceeding delight in charity, self-control and virtue, who makes an end of all the āśravas, *and who is free from passion. What more can you want, O queen?*

"O woman whose belly with its bright streak of fair downy hair curves like the palm of the hand, of you will be born he whose thought is boundless, who is ever undefiled, unsullied by what is foul.

"Rich merit beyond compare has in the course of a long time(204) *been acquired by this woman, who will bear him whose worth is illimitable, and who is strong with the merit attained during a long time.*

"You are a worthy woman, supreme among mothers, and your son will be the Pre-eminent of Men, who has abandoned desire and is free of passion. What more can you want, O queen?"

Then the Rākṣasas of various shapes were thus commanded[2]*: "Ye wielders of brave weapons, quickly take up positions in all quarters of the sky, and clear all its spaces of obstacles."*

Next after these the horde of fork-tongued Nāgas, whose anger is fanned into flame by the slightest breeze they hear stirring, stood on guard in the regions of the sky.

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[1] *Antarato*, see note p. 116.

[2] 3rd pers. imperative in text, translated by 2nd pers. for convenience.

Next to these the Yakṣas, a monstrous crowd, with flaming crests, were posted, and bidden to ward off all who were malevolent, but not to slay any.

And next the mighty host of Gandharvas, comely in form and noble of features, with shining bows stood to guard him who is abundantly wise.

The Four Lords[1] *of the world stood in the air along with their own retinues. "For to-day," said they, "the Exalted One is coming down to earth to bring welfare, happiness and prosperity to the world."*

The Three-and-Thirty devas along with their chief, the bearer of the wheel,[2] *stood in the air, saying, "Soon the Exalted One, in his yearning for the utmost happiness of the world, will make his last descent."*

A great host of devas, raising their joined hands and bowing at the queen's feet, looked out for the Conqueror's coming from Tuṣita, and uttered sweet words :—

"O thou who art strong with merit won by purification, now is it time for thee to enter upon thy last existence. Thy mother is ready. Now have pity upon afflicted mankind."

(205)*"Lo, I depart hence." So did* [*the Exalted One*] *speak out and utter the happy word. . . .*[3] *And at that very moment the Conqueror's mother saw in a dream him who had won maturity of fruition.*

He enters her[4] *body in the form of a noble elephant, light of step, perfectly flawless of body, gleaming like snow-white silver, with six tusks, a gracefully waving trunk and a crimson head.*

Bodhisattvas, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, do not descend into their mothers' womb during the dark fortnight, but on the day of the full moon in the month Pauṣa.[5] Bodhisattvas enter the womb of a mother who observes the fasts, who is tall

[1] See note p. 124.

[2] *Sc.* Indra.

[3] Lacuna.

[4] The text has *me*, "my," which would imply that the queen is here recounting her narrative in the first person. It is better, with Senart, to change *me* into *se* which can stand for *asyā* as well as *asya*.

[5] Literally "when the full moon is in conjunction with the asterism or lunar mansion, *puṣya*," *pūrṇāyāṃ pūrṇamāsyāṃ puṣyanakṣatrayogayuktāyām* ; whence the name of the month *Pauṣa*, corresponding to December-January.

and well-proportioned,[1] who is accomplished and in the flower of youth, who is trained in the Discipline, who is learned, mindful and self-possessed, in every way right-minded and seemly, the most perfect of women.[2]

When a Bodhisattva of Tuṣita, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, passes away thence, there is shed a radiance which illumines a whole Buddha-field. [And then] one deva asks another,

"Why is a radiance shed by the excellent Sura, which is more serene than the moonbeams, which is pure like gold, and which gladdens the lords of the Asuras and of men and even the fiery flaming hells?"

And that deva replies :—

"The radiance is shed as a greeting by the liberating, sinless glory of those who everywhere succour men caught in the toils of rebirth and obsessed by intoxication."

(**206**)The Bodhisattva said [to the devas] :—

"Leave your cities, ye immortals. Verily this is not the time to indulge in their delights. Rather is it time to rive the strongholds of old age and death with the blows of knowledge."

The Bodhisattva, thoughtful, self-possessed and right-minded, entered his mother's womb.

The lion-hearted man, roaring a lion's roar, when it is the time and the occasion for him to pass away, leaves on the instant, and re-appears in the home of a king.

He who lights up Tuṣita with his radiant beauty, leaves the cities of the immortals and becomes an incomparable light in the world.

This incomparable light of the world illumines with his beauty the whole world including Brahmā's, and all the race of men, brāhmans and recluses.

Behold this wonder and this marvel, that the potent Master, mindful and self-possessed, has come down into his mother's womb,

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[1] *Pariṇāhasampanna,* "possessing breadth or girth."

[2] There is some grammatical incoherency here. The adjectives are loc. sing., much as though *matus kukṣimavakrāmanti* had the force of "are born of."

That the Very Best of Men, bearing the marks of excellence, mindful and self-possessed, has taken his place in his mother's womb.

As soon, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, as the Great Being, the Bodhisattva, had descended into his mother's womb, this great earth quaked, shook and trembled violently six times. There was something thrilling in this quaking,[1] something beautiful, merry, gleeful, amiable, exhilarating, admirable, cheerful, **(207)** assuring, graceful, lovely, gladdening,[2] causing no misgiving nor fear. For while the earth quaked, it destroyed no life whatever, whether animal or plant.

Then this earth bounded by ocean and Mount Meru quaked six times. And the world was made bright and lovely by the splendour of him who dispels the great darkness.

When the powerful and mindful one passed away from Tuṣita, taking on the form of an elephant, the colour of a white boar, and having six tusks,

Mindful, self-possessed, and virtuous, he entered the womb of his mother as she lay high up in the palace,[3] fasting and clothed in pure raiment.

When night had passed into day, she said to her gracious spouse, "Noble king, [in my dream I saw] a white and kingly elephant enter my womb."

When her husband, the king, heard this, he assembled the diviners,[4] and bade them all declare the full portent[5] of this dream.

The diviners said in answer to the king, "He who bears the thirty-two marks of excellence has entered the queen's womb.

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[1] Literally " it quaked thrillingly," *etc.*

[2] *Prasaraṇīya,* which Senart plausibly takes as equivalent to Pali *sārāṇīya,* probably derived from *sam + raj,* " to rejoice," " to gladden." (See *Pali Dictionary.*)

[3] Reading, with Senart, *vīrāsane* for *vīraśayane* of the text. Böhtlingk and Roth give *vīrāsana* = " das Stehen auf einem erhöhten Platze." This agrees with what we are told of the situation of the queen's bed.

[4] The MSS. have *vipañcanikān,* but the metre requires *vaipañcanikān.* Both forms are obviously related to Pali *vipañcitaññū,* " knowing diffuseness or detail " or " of unillusioned understanding " (*Pali Dictionary,* where references to variants in Buddhist Sanskrit are given, but not to the *Mahāvastu* instance.) In the next stanza these diviners have the more usual appellation *nimittika,* from *nimitta,* " sign," " omen," *etc.,* which corresponds to the classical Sanskrit *naimittika,* Pali, *nemittaka* or *nemittika.*

[5] Literally " the realisation of the fruit of," *phalavipāka.*

"O king, you should rejoice because of him who has appeared in your family. O sovereign of earth, the noble child in the womb is the peerless Great Being.

"According to what I myself have learnt from the ancient masters,(208) *one of two alternative careers lies before him, O valiant king.*

"If he remains in the world he will become a mighty lord, possessing treasure,[1] *prosperous, always attended by victory, with a hundred thousand kings in his train.*

"But if he embraces the religious life and renounces the sovereignty of the four continents, he will become a self-guiding Buddha, the guide of men and devas".

All the Nāga kings and lords eagerly rushed to mount watch and ward over the Bodhisattva. Again, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, when the Bodhisattva had entered his mother's womb, all the Suparṇa[2] kings and lords eagerly rushed to mount watch and ward over the Bodhisattva. And so, too, did the Four Great Kings.

The Four Lords of the world, also, watched over the world's saviour, lest any malevolent being harm him who is destined to rout the power of Namuci.[3]

Śakra, also, king of the devas, and the deva Suyāma,[4] the deva Santuṣita,[5] the deva Sunirmita,[6] the deva Vaśavartīn,[7] Great Brahmā, and a Suddhāvāsa deva, eagerly rushed to mount watch and ward over the Bodhisattva when he had entered his mother's womb.

Delighted thousands of devas come to Arcimat's city, as to a city of the immortals, to guard him whose wisdom is most choice.

The delightful city of Dīpavatī is become the chief of cities; it is made all radiant by the hosts of devas who enter it—the immortals whose coming is swift as thought.[8]

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[1] *Saratna*, or, perhaps, "possessing the seven gems or treasures of a universal king." See p. 41.

[2] The text has the Prakrit form *Suvarṇa*. *Cf.* Pali *suvaṇṇa* beside *supaṇṇa*, descriptive epithet ("well-winged") of the Garuḍā, "a class of mythical birds generally mentioned in company with the Nāgas." (*D.P.N.*)

[3] "A name for Māra, given him because he does not allow either gods or men 'to escape' (*muc*) from his clutches." (*D.P.N.*)

[4-7] Chiefs of the Yāma, the Tuṣita, the Nirmāṇarati, and the Paranirmitavaśavartin devas respectively.

[8] *Manomayavikramagatehi*, "who have come with a pace made of mind."

(209) *Eight thousand of the lordly hosts,*[1] *taking up their stations in sky and air, wait upon the queen.*

Behind them Indra's thousands, with spotless crests, take up their stations in great numbers to guard him whose worth is great.

Behind these deva chiefs thousands of nayutas *of Kāmāvacara devas take up their places in the unsupporting air.*[2]

Behind these deva hosts again, Asuras, throngs of fork-tongued Asuras, Yakṣas of strange forms, and hordes of Rākṣasas take their places.

And in this way the air, thronged by hundreds of thousands of immortals, was glorified and utterly purified, for so great was the merit acquired by him who is free of passion.

Great Brahmā speaks[3]:—

The woman who in her dream has seen the sun from the sky enter her womb, will give birth to one who bears the marks of excellence. He will be a mighty universal king.

The woman who in her dream has seen the moon from the sky enter her womb, will give birth to a son who is both man and deva. He will be a noble universal king.

The woman who in her dream has seen a white elephant enter her womb, will give birth to a being as select as an elephant is among animals,[4] *and he will be a Buddha who knows what is good and true.*[5]

(210) And he asks the queen, "Whom do you bear? And she replies, "A universal king."

"I bear a universal king, a choice man, a valiant king, who illumines my womb with his golden beauty and is endowed with the marks of excellence."

But the devas in the sky acclaim him with the title of the Exalted One, saying, "He will become a Buddha, not a mighty universal king."

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[1] *Maheśvaras*, see note p. 155.
[2] *Gagane nirālambe.*
[3] As Senart suggests, these verses would be more appropriately assigned to the diviners.
[4] Literally "the select being of an elephant," *gajasattvasāra.*
[5] *Budhitārthadharma.*

Great Brahmā recites this verse :—

You bear [one who is like] an elephant [among men], the best of treasures, destroyer of the force and violence of intoxication, light of the world,[1] *dispeller of dark and murky folly, the storehouse of virtues, the possessor of boundless wealth, a royal seer, whose wheel knows no obstacle, whose radiance is deathless."*

The queen replies :—

"As passion and vice no longer have power over me who have conceived the seed of the king of men, there is no doubt that he will be of such splendour as you say."[2]

Again, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, when the Bodhisattva has entered his mother's womb,[3] his mother is comfortable whether she walks, stands, sits, or lies down, because of the power of the Bodhisattva. No weapon can pierce her body, nor can poison, fire or sword prevail against her, because of the power of the Bodhisattva. Deva maidens attend to her with preparations made in heaven for cleaning and massaging the body, and she is clothed in celestial raiment and adorned with celestial jewels, because of the power of the Bodhisattva. She obtains celestial perfumes, garlands, cosmetics and essences, because of the power of the Bodhisattva.

(**211**)Again, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, when the Bodhisattva has entered his mother's womb, because of his power all her escort deem her worthy of perfect obedience and loyalty, and those who see her go up to her and offer their services. Nothing, not even a bird, passes over her, because of the power of the Bodhisattva. She becomes sound and healthy, and enjoys a digestive heat neither too cold nor too hot, which ensures a perfect digestion, because of the power of the Bodhisattva. She receives the choicest solid and soft food of the best and most superlative flavour, because of the power of the Bodhisattva. She becomes rid of passion, and lives an unimpaired, flawless, unspotted, untarnished and absolutely

[1] *Lokasya pradīpa*, see note p. 37.
[2] Literally, " as the saying goes forth," *yatha niścarati vācā*, or, perhaps, " as men say."
[3] This phrase, forming a stereotyped beginning for the sentences in this passage, is, as far as is consonant with clearness, subsequently omitted.

pure and perfect chaste life. In the heart of this pre-eminent woman no passion arises for any man, not even for King Arcimat. She lives in accordance with the five moral precepts,[1] observing them to the full.[2]

Again, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, when the Bodhisattva has entered his mother's womb, all the Nāga kings and lords, whether born of eggs, or from the womb, or from moisture, or spontaneously,[3] enter her abode and sprinkle her with celestial sandal-wood powder. Similarly they sprinkle[4] her with aloe-wood powder and scatter showers of blossoms over her. They laud her with perfect praise, with consummate praise, with absolutely pure praise. When they have scattered celestial sandal-wood powder, they scatter *keśara*[5] powder, and powdered leaves of the *tamāla*[6] tree, and showers of blossoms. (212) They laud her with perfect praise, with consummate praise, with absolutely pure praise. And when they have thus lauded her with this perfect and pure praise, and scattered celestial powder of sandal-wood, aloe-wood, *keśara* and *tamāla* leaves, and showers of blossoms, on, about, and over the Bodhisattva's mother, they salute her three times from the right, and go their way. [And all this is] because of the power of the Bodhisattva.

Again, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, when the Bodhisattva has entered his mother's womb, all the Suparṇa kings and lords, whether born of eggs, or from the womb, or from moisture, or spontaneously, enter her abode and sprinkle her with celestial sandal-wood powder and many other celestial powders, celestial *keśara* powder, celestial powder of *tamāla* leaves, and

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[1] *Pañca śikṣāpadāni* (Pali *sikkhāpadāni*), *i.e.* the five precepts inculcating the practice of the five *śīlāni*, or "behaviours." Both precepts and behaviours are sometimes given as ten, but when enumerated as five each group denotes abstinence, respectively, from murder, theft, adultery, falsehood, and slander, the committing of which occasions the "five-fold guilty dread" (*pañca bhayāni verāni*). See *e.g.* *S.* 2. 68. The later additional five *śikṣāpadāni* are not identical with the corresponding five *śīlāni*.

[2] Reading, as Senart tentatively suggests, *sampūrṇasamādinnāni*, for *sapūrva*° of the text.

[3] *Cf.* *M.* i 73.

[4] Some of the tenses here are past (aorist), implying an account of a particular conception of the Bodhisattva. Others are present describing such a conception in general terms. But the two tenses are so mixed up that it has been thought better to render both by the present (or present perfect).

[5] See p. 32.

[6] A tree with a very dark bark, but white flowers, *Xanthochymus pictorius*.

powder of celestial blossoms. They laud her with perfect praise, with consummate praise, with absolutely pure praise. And when they have scattered celestial powders of aloe-wood, of *keśara*, of *tamāla* leaves, and celestial blossoms on the Bodhisattva's mother, and saluted her three times from the right, they go their way. [And all this is] because of the power of the Bodhisattva.

Again, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, when the Bodhisattva has entered his mother's womb the Cāturmahārājaka devas, the Trayastṛiṃśa devas, the Yāma devas, the Tuṣita devas, the Nirmāṇarati devas, Paranirmitavaśavartin devas, the Brahmā devas, and the Śuddhāvāsa devas enter her abode and scatter over her celestial sandal-wood powder, celestial aloe-wood powder, celestial *keśara* powder and powder of *tamāla* leaves, and showers of celestial blossoms. Then they laud her with perfect praise, with consummate praise,**(213)** with absolutely pure praise. When they have scattered over and about her celestial powder of sandal-wood, of aloe-wood, of *keśara* and of *tamāla* leaves, and showers of celestial blossoms, and lauded her with perfect praise, with consummate praise, with absolutely pure praise, they salute the Bodhisattva's mother three times from the right and go their way. [And all this is] because of the power of the Bodhisattva.

Again, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, when the Bodhisattva has entered his mother's womb he does not occupy a position that is too low or too high. He does not lie on his face, nor on his back, nor on his left side, nor squatting on his heels.[1] But he sits[2] in his mother's right side with his legs crossed. He is not polluted by bile, phlegm, blood or any other unclean matter. For the Bodhisattva, while he is in his mother's womb, is rubbed with perfumes and washed clean. He is able to see his mother, while she, in her turn, can see the Bodhisattva in her womb like a body of pure gold and is enraptured at the sight. It is as though a jewel of beryl were

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[1] Or, more precisely, " squatting on the calves with the heels firmly planted on the ground "—*utkuṭika*, Pali *ukkuṭika*. See *Pali Dictionary* where the reference to the Buddhist Sanskrit form should be amended; *Mahāvastu* 2. 16, has *utkuṭuka*.

[2] The verb is *tiṣṭhati*, as it also is for " lying " (on his face), *etc.*, and for the copulative " is " in the next sentence.

placed in its crystal casket. Just so does his mother see the Bodhisattva like a body of gold illuminating her womb.[1]

(**214**)Again, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, when the Bodhisattva has entered his mother's womb, hosts of devas come day and night to inquire after his welfare. And the Bodhisattva greets them by raising his right hand, but without hurting his mother. Neither the devas nor the Nāgas, nor the Yakṣas, nor the Dānavas, nor the Rākṣasas, nor the Piśācas leave him day or night. Nor is there any talk of the affections, nor talk concerned with sensual pleasures, nor any other trivial talk there. But they speak of nothing other than the Bodhisattva's beauty, his comeliness, his being, his might, his colour, his glory, and his root of virtue. Their worship of the Bodhisattva in his mother's womb does not cease. Celestial musical instruments are played, celestial scents of aloe-wood are wafted abroad, celestial flowers and celestial powders rain down. And thousands of Apsarases sing and dance around.

Again, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, when the Bodhisattva has entered his mother's womb, she laughs and talks[2] with thousands of deva maidens. And again when she falls asleep the deva maidens fan her with garlands of the coral-tree. [And all this is] because of the power of the Bodhisattva.

Such then, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, is this perfect descent into the womb, unsurpassed in all the great universe of the three thousand worlds.

And now behold another marvel, the marvel of the talk begetting the most perfect ecstasy, which there was among all that great concourse of devas.

There is no talk of sensual delight, nor of Apsarases, nor of song, nor of instrumental music, nor of eating and drinking.

There is no talk of jewellery, nor of dress.(**215**) *No talk of driving and pleasure-gardens occurs to their minds.*

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[1] In the corresponding passage in Vol. 2. 16 the simile is in the metrical form of an āryā of three hemistiches. In his notes Senart makes an attempt at the restitution of the metrical form here, but has to admit that there is no MS. authority for the introduction of the necessary words.

[2] Literally "laughter and talk befall (*abhyābhavati*) the B.'s mother." This use of the verb *abhi-ā-bhū* is Brāhmanic, and Senart suggests that it is an example of not a few parallels which examination might reveal between the language of the *Mahāvastu* and the *Brāhmaṇas*.

"Oh! Good is the inimitable light of the Leader who is strong through his merit. It outshines the world of men and devas." Such is the talk that echoes[1] *there.*

"Oh! Good is the incomparable conception of him whose form is perfect." Such is the varied talk that echoes there among that gathering.

With these pure[2] *psalms of acclamation for him whose wisdom is excellent do they while away the time, and such is the talk that echoes in that gathering.*

And so the hosts of devas rejoice as they relate their varied themes, telling of the form, the colour, the might and the strength of him who is free from passion.

THE BIRTH OF THE BUDDHA DĪPAṂKARA

The mothers of all Bodhisattvas are delivered when the tenth month is completed. So at the end of the tenth month, the queen, named Sudīpā, said to King Arcimat, "My lord, it is my desire to go to the pleasaunce in the Lotus Grove." And when the king heard Queen Sudīpā, he said to his ministers, "With the women of my court I am going for diversion to the pleasaunce in the Lotus Grove.

"Quickly make ready the Lotus Grove by clearing it of grass and litter and leaves. Make it a mass of fair and fragrant flowers, and make it sweetly smelling with scented water.

"In the Lotus Grove let the sportive[3] *breezes laden with the scent of* tamāla *leaves diffuse an ambrosial fragrance; let the boisterous*[4] *breezes be gone.*

"Let clouds charged with the fragrance of aloe-wood quickly descend from the sky to shade the Lotus Grove that is full of the exquisite aroma of powders.

(216)*"Adorn each fair tree with streamers of jute and wool and silken cloth, that they be like the* kalpavṛikṣa *trees of the chief of devas in heaven.*

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[1] *Kathā vikasati.* Senart tentatively refers *vikasati* to *vikaś* and cites *kaś* given by Vopadeva in the sense of "to resound," *etc.* See also Böhtlingk and Roth s.v. *kaś, kas, kaṃs.*

[2] *Nirāmiṣa,* "not fleshly," "not gross," "spiritual."

[3] Reading *salīlā* for *śarīrā.* So Senart.

[4] Literally "intoxicating," *madajanana,* but the exact meaning is not clear.

Devas and deva maidens, bearing scented garlands, come to the pleasaunce in the Lotus Grove of King Arcimat.

Wearing ear-rings of crystal gems, resplendent garments and drooping jewels, and carrying fragrant garlands, they come floating down the pathways of the sky.

Some carry baskets[1] *full of the flowers of the coral-tree, others baskets of the yellow sandal-wood flowers, and others baskets of suitable woven stuffs.*

With joy in their hearts the Apsarases, bearing garlands of land and water flowers and gems and jewels, turn their faces towards Jambudvīpa.

Deva maidens come floating through the air carrying full eighty-four thousand sunshades of gold and jewels.

The sky, with hundreds of pennants of woven cloth flying high, is filled as though[2] *with pinnacles plastered with gleaming crystals and gems.*

And clouds of vapour, like the breath of elephants, glisten [in the air],[3] *with their fragrant flowery scents, a blend of lotus, water-lily and* campaka.[4]

Delighted serpent-lords besprinkle the air with clouds of sweet-smelling vapour. And there were hundreds of other wonders besides.

Thus then, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, did King Arcimat with his women set out for the pleasaunce in the Lotus Grove, with great royal pomp, splendour and magnificence.

(217) *When she enters that fair grove, the queen, the Conqueror's mother, attended by her friends, rides on in her gay chariot, a queen like the consort of an immortal, knowing the rule of joy.*

Then, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, Queen Sudīpā, attended by her friends, sported on the lake in the grove in boats which had platforms[5] fore and aft, and canopies spread above. They were carpeted with glittering cloth, draped with flowing bands of fine silk ; they were painted, scented, and strewn with heaps

[1] ? or vases, *saṃgeriyo*, most likely corrupt.
[2] Reading, *-samehi*, for *-śatehi*, as in 2. 19.
[3] Supplied from *khagapathe* in the parallel passage in 2. 19.
[4] A tree with yellow flowers, *michelia champaka.*
[5] *Vedi*, " altar," " terrace," here probably a " promenade deck."

of flowers, and were surrounded by railings.[1] Above were sunshades, flags and pennons. As Queen Sudīpā was being drawn along in her boat, the fancy took her to disembark. And then, through the power of the Bodhisattva, an island appeared in the middle of the lake, level and even, fringed by beautiful sand. Tender grasses grew from the soil that were blue like tufts of *saṃsparśa,*[2] and like a peacock's neck. When these were trod upon they bent to no more than four inches from the ground. Trees grew there laden with pleasant fruit. On this island did the queen land.

Again, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, the Bodhisattva's mother does not give birth to him as she is lying down or sitting. Nor does she give birth to him without his being perfectly free of bile, phlegm, blood or any other foul and unclean matter, but his body is bathed with perfumes and washed clean.

> *She, tired in body, leant with her arm on the branch of a tree and comfortably stretched herself at the moment of giving birth to the Glorious One.*
>
> *Then twenty thousand deva maidens quickly flocked thither,*(218) *and, raising their joined hands, addressed the queen with devoted intent.*
>
> *"To-day, O queen, you will give birth to him who crushes old age and disease, a noble youth of immortal stock, honoured and beloved in heaven and on earth, a benefactor of devas and men.*
>
> *"Do not give way to anxiety, for we shall render service to you. Only tell us what is to be done, and lo! it is all done."*
>
> *Then the Four Great Lords of the world with their thick celestial tresses of hair,*[3] *attended by their retinues, speedily foregathered there and drew near to the queen from the right.*
>
> *And all the deva hosts hovering in the air as they attended upon the queen, carrying fragrant garlands, and with their own attendant hosts, presented a bright array.*

The Bodhisattva, mindful and thoughtful, issues through his mother's right side without doing her any injury.

[1] *Vedikājālā,* see note p. 153.
[2] A fragrant plant or perfume.
[3] *Divyapraveṇihasta.* For the force of °*hasta,* cf. *keśahasta,* "a good crop of" or "ornamented with hair."

For the Supreme of Men are born from their mothers' right side. It is here that all the valiant men abide [when in their mother's body].

Why is not that side of the Conqueror's mother rent as she is delivered of the Best of Men, and why does no pain ensue?

Tathāgatas are born with a body that is made of mind,[1] *and that is why the mother's body is not rent and why no pain ensues.*

Tired out with his stay in the womb, the Bodhisattva takes seven strides over the earth, scans the regions of it, and laughs a loud laugh.

Now listen to what the tradition says as to the reason why he takes seven strides, rather than eight or six.

(219) *When the Sage, the benefactor of the whole world, was tired with his stay in the womb, he strode forth eagerly, as it was his last sojourn there.*

When he had taken seven strides over the earth, throngs of devas suddenly came flying down, and the Sage was taken up in the arms of the Four Great Lords.

Then there fell down a drizzling rain of celestial blossoms, mingled with the powder of the coral-tree, and thick with that of the celestial sandal-wood tree.

And for a long time the exultant devas diffused the most divine incense to grace the splendour of the supremely Intelligent One.

I shall here, too, tell the tradition, the edifying doctrine, as to why the Peerless Man surveys the regions of the world.

He finds not among beings, either devas or men, anyone whose birth was like his, or whose conception was like his.

As shining gold is the side of the Conqueror's mother from whom[2] *the Omniscient is born into his last existence.*

As soon as he was born this was the thought that occurred to the supremely Eloquent One, "Is there anyone my equal in intelligence?

"Are there any who are irked[3] *by the snare of recurrent*

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[1] *Manomaya*—a tenet of the Lokottaravādins.

[2] Reading, as Senart suggests, *yasmā* for *yadā* of the text.

[3] *Ārttiyante.* For the formation of this verb cf. Pali *aṭṭiyati*, denominative verb from *aṭṭa* = Sanskrit ārta, the past part. of *ṛid*, "to afflict, torment." It is unnecessary to ascribe the form to false analogy as Senart does.

birth as I am?" It is for this purpose, to have this doubt resolved[1] *that the Kinsman of the Sun scans all regions of the world.*

Then the Prince of Speakers, surveying the regions, espies thousands of koṭis *of devas, and that is why he laughs.*

(220)*As soon as he was born the devas of Māra's world said to him, "Thou wilt become a wealthy universal king over the four continents."*

But he laughs at that, and says, "You do not know me for what I am. For I shall become the supreme of men, all-knowing and all-seeing."

And distinguished teachers confirm this, for thus has the teaching of the lion-hearted men been well proclaimed.

The hero whom his mother bore as she stood supporting her body by the flowering sāl *tree, him, the peerless Conqueror, do I extol.*[2]

May the Sugata just now born tread the earth with even feet.[3] *He has taken seven strides and scanned all the regions of the world.*

And as he walked along a fan and a sunshade of their own accord[4] *followed him, lest gadflies and gnats alight on the body of the Omniscient One.*

As soon as the Sugata was born, devas first received the Conqueror, and afterwards men bore the Peerless One in their arms.

The devas welcomed the Sugata who displayed the thirty-two marks of excellence, and afterwards men bore the Peerless One in their arms.

The lights of men were put out, because the earth was bathed in radiance as soon as the Sugata, the torch-bearer of men and devas, was born.

As soon as the Sugata was born, his folk ran in quest of water. And lo! wells full of water brimming over flowed right before their eyes.

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[1] *-ccetam tarkam nivartitum*; this phrase is transferred in translation from the preceding stanza to its natural place here as an amplification of *ityarthaṃ*.

[2] A number of verses, in a different metre, inserted from another source or tradition.

[3] *Samehi padehi*. One of the thirty-two characteristics (*lakṣaṇāni*) of a Mahāpuruṣa. See p. 180.

[4] *Sāmaṃ*. Pali only = "self," "oneself," *etc*. See Böhtlingk and Roth, and references in *Pali Dictionary*.

(221)*Two pitchers of water appeared, one of cold, the other of warm water, wherewith they bathed the golden body of the Sugata.*

Because of the power of the Bodhisattva, immediately after the Sugata was born, his mother was without hurt or scar. Again, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, immediately after the Bodhisattva was born, his mother's womb, because of his power, remained quite unscathed and without the effect of strain[1]. Again, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, immediately after the Bodhisattva was born, because of his power there appeared on the island[2] a forest of sandal-wood trees, which became a source of delight and enjoyment to him.

Then, hundreds of thousands of devas assemble, with fragrant garlands in their hands, to do honour to the Bodhisattva. One deva asks another, " Whither do you go ?" And the other replies :—

The consort of the king is about to give birth to that peerless offspring who is bright like the calyx of the blossoming lotus. Here on earth he will win the highest good, overcoming Māra and his power. It is to this hero that I repair.

His body is untouched by the impurities of the womb, even like the exquisite lotus that is born in the mud of pools. Beautiful like the newly-risen sun, he excels the immortals in Brahmā's heaven.

Then as soon as he was born in Arcimat's household, the Wise One took seven mighty strides. Scanning the regions of the world, he laughed aloud, and said, "This, at length, is my last existence."

(222)*And many devas held up in the sky a glittering sunshade, inimitably studded with gems and pearls and outshining all others in splendour, and waved garlands of the coral-tree.*

They held up in the sky a fair and golden sunshade,

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[1] ? *Anārabdhā.* So Senart.

[2] *Antaradvīpe.* Senart explains : " dans l'intervalle qui sépare les uns des autres les quatres dvîpas dont la réunion forme un monde." But it seems more natural to make the reference to be to the island on which the Buddha was born. For the compound, cf. Pali *antaradīpake,* " in the centre of the island " (*J.* I. 240.) It should be added, however, that in the parallel passage in Vol. 2, p. 23, there is an additional marvel, *viz.* the holy fig-tree which appears in the midst of the four million islands or continents.

gleaming like a shell in the sunshine, whilst they waved cunningly fashioned fans in their hands as they fanned the Conqueror.

Two pitchers of water suddenly appeared in the sky, one fragrant, pleasantly warm, agreeable and beneficial to man, the other healthful, invigorating and icy cold.

Then on Meru's summit devas of various kinds took off their robes that were scented with all sorts of perfumes, and, standing in long ranks on all sides, vigorously waved them. Six times did they make the firm earth quake.

Devas in their mansions[1] *resplendent in gold and silver and jewels, to the sound of musical instruments, looked on the Conqueror's auspicious birth. They lit up the sky, with its moon, sun and stars.*

"This is the great Seer, who, having crossed the great ocean of life through the worlds of devas, Nāgas, and Yakṣas(**223**) *will attain that one region where is peace." Thus did the enraptured devas in the sky proclaim of him.*

King Arcimat then ordered the child to be led to pay worship at the feet of a certain[2] goddess. In what sort of conveyance will the child be seated? In a jewelled palanquin fashioned by devas. Who will bear this palanquin? The Four Great Lords are standing by and say "We will carry the Elect of beings, the Bodhisattva, together with Queen Sudīpā and his nurse."

They climb into the palanquin, and Śakra, the lord of devas, and Great Brahmā form an escort. Thus the Bodhisattva in great pomp, in the great pomp of a deva, in the great pomp of a king, was taken from the pleasaunce in the Lotus Grove and brought to the royal city of Dīpavatī, where he was led into the temple[3] of the goddess.

Against his will the hero, the great saviour of the world, the teacher of kings, entered the shrine. But when they would have him salute the goddess with his head, it was his feet that he put forward.[4]

[1] *Vimāna*. See note p. 26.

[2] *imāye devīye*. But, perhaps, the pronoun *imāye* should be, as Senart suggests, changed into *Abhayāye*, Abhayā being the name given to this goddess in the parallel passage (2. 26).

[3] *Kalam* (*sic*) in the text, for *kulam*.

[4] Literally "his feet appeared," *prādurbhavensu*.

Then the goddess said to another goddess, "It is not fitting that this child should worship me. And if he should make obeisance before another, that one's head would assuredly be split in seven."

When this child was born all beings, including even those in Avīci, became prosperous and happy. All devas bowed to him in joy.

(224) *When the child had entered the royal palace, the king bade his priest fetch at once the wise men who were skilled in the rules and significance of signs.*

Learning this, the saintly[1] *devas, called Maheśvaras*[2], (*came on the scene*), *lest the unskilled crowd of the twice-born*[3] *should seek to interpret the signs.*

Rid of conceit, pride, and arrogance, eight thousand Maheśvaras approached him who was newly born and revered by the hosts of devas.

Arrayed in fine and pure raiment they stood in silence at the door of the king's palace and addressed the door-keeper in a tone gentle as the cuckoo's, saying,

"Go in to the king and say to him, 'Here are eight thousand men who know the significance and rules of signs, and they would enter if it is your pleasure.' "

"So be it," said the door-keeper obeying them, and he went into the palace. Raising his joined hands, he joyfully addressed the lord of earth :—

"O King, peerless in strength, whose glory is ablaze, smiter of your foes, may you rule your realm a long time yet. Men like the immortals stand at your gates and crave admittance.

"Because of their full clear eyes, their soft voices, their tread like that of elephant in rut, doubt arises in me whether these be men and not sons of the devas.

[1] Literally " heart *or* mind controlling," *cittavaśavartī*.

[2] Devas of this name do not seem to be known outside the *Mahāvastu*. Usually it is the Śuddhāvāsa devas who figure in this scene, and as at p. 150 these are described as *maheśvarās* or " great lords," it is likely that this descriptive title has, in the present passage, been taken as a well-understood alternative name for the Śuddhāvāsa devas. The king's visitors are actually called by the latter name later on in this same passage (p. 182).

[3] *I.e.* Brāhmans.

"As they walk about the dust of the earth does not soil their noble feet. I see no footprints of theirs on the ground —this too is a marvel.

"Stately and quiet are their gestures, noble their bearing, and controlled the range of their vision.[1] *They give great delight to all who behold them.*

"And here is another marvellous thing. No shadows are seen cast by their bodies,(225) *and no accompanying noise is heard as they move along.*

"O King, without a doubt they are come to view your noble son. You should see with joy and greet these devas who were not born of the womb.

"With fair and fragrant garlands in their hands, with their graceful gestures, with their charming persons, they are ablaze with glory. Without a doubt they are exalted devas."[2]

When King Arcimat heard these words, his body thrilled with joy, and he replied, "To be sure, let them with all speed enter within this noble palace.

"And why? Because such are not the forms of ordinary men. Human beings do not have such majesty as you say these men have."

Then the door-keeper went to the Maheśvaras, and, bowing with his joined hands uplifted, cheerfully and joyously did them obeisance, and said,

"His majesty is pleased, sirs, that you should at his command enter the valiant king's palace that is fit to be a stronghold of the devas."

When they had heard this word, the eight-thousand Maheśvaras entered the royal palace of the chief of his unconquered line.

Then King Arcimat, a stately, strong and sturdy[3] *figure, seeing the Maheśvaras when they were still some way off, rose up with his court to meet them.*

The valiant king addressed them, saying, "I bid you all a hearty welcome, for I am pleased with your appearance, your calm, your self-control and your strength.

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[1] See note p. 119.
[2] Called here by the name *Marutas*. Cf. note p. 119.
[3] Literally " with body made-to-become," *bhāvitaśarīra*.

"Here are our most honourable seats. Pray be seated at once, sirs, to give pleasure to us."

Then they who were rid of conceit, pride and arrogance, and were blameless in deed,(226) *sat down on those seats, the feet of which were bright and glittering with many a gem.*

After waiting a while (one of them) addressed the king saying, "Let his majesty hear what the cause of our coming hither is.

"A son is born to you, O king, of a wholly faultless body, who is judged fair by all the world, and who possesses to perfection the marks of excellence.

"For we, skilled in signs, can recognise the marks of virtues and of vices. If it be not hard for you, we would see him who bears the form of a Great Man."

The king replied, "Come, see my son whose good name is secure,[1] *who brings joy to devas and men, and possesses the marks of excellence to perfection."*

Then taking in his arms the Virtuous One, swathed in delicate, soft and gaily-coloured wool, he brought him whose eloquence is clear[2] *to the noble Suras.*

When the Maheśvaras observed from a distance the dignified approach of the Daśabala, they thrilled with joy and bowed their heads, crowned with glittering diadems, to the ground.

And now they declare to the king, "Great profit have you well gained, O King, in that there has been born in your family the Great Man who possesses the thirty-two marks, which are[3]:—

He has feet with level tread.[4]
He has designs of wheels on the soles of his feet.[5]
He has long toes and fingers.[6]

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[1] *Suvyapadeśakṣema.* See note p. 120.

[2] Literally "whose speech is (clear like) the moon," *vādicandra.* For this similitude between the clearness of voice and that of light, *cf.* the Irish *de ghuth árd solas-ghlan,* "With a loud voice clear as light."

[3] These terms are given in mnemonic verse. Only a single word, and that not always the distinctive or key word, of the sentences which in the lists given elsewhere describe the marks, is given. They have been interpreted here on the basis of the list given in *D.* 3. 143 ff. (= *D.* 2. 17 ff.) and translated in *Dial.* 3. 137 ff.

[4] *Samā.* The Pali has *suppatiṭṭhita-pādo.* But compare *samehi padehi* above p. 175.

[5] *Heṣṭā.* Pali: *heṭṭhā pāda-talesu cakkāni jātāni.*

[6] *Dīrghā.* Pali: *dīghangulī hoti.*

He has broad and projecting heels.[1]
He has sharply arched feet.[2]
His legs are like the antelope's.[3]
His body is divinely straight.[4]
He can touch his knees with his hands when standing erect.[5]
His male organ is enclosed in a sheath.[6]
His body is proportioned like the banyan tree.[7]
His hands and feet are soft and tender.[8]
His hands and feet are net-like.[9]
His body is perfectly formed.[10]
The down on his body grows in single hairs, one to each pore.[11]
The down on his body grows straight upwards.[12]
He has a smooth skin.[13]
He has a [?] skin.[14]
He has the gait of a swan.[15]

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[1] *Āyatā.* Pali: *āyata-paṇhī hoti.*

[2] *Ucchanga.* Pali: *ussankha-pādo hoti. Dial.* 3. 138 translates "his ankles are like rounded shells" (*sankha* = Skt. *śankha*) but the *Pali Dictionary*, following the *Commentary*, translates "with ankles in the middle," which implies the translation given above. *Mahāvastu*, 1. 197, and 2. 29, has *utsanga°* "slope," "roof" which seems to confirm this interpretation. The text, however, is uncertain. The MSS. here give *ucchaka* and *ucchaṃka*, and at 2. 29 *upasaṃkaṃ*, all of which seem to be an echo of the Pali *ussankha*.

[3] *Eṇi.* Pali: *eṇi-jangho hoti.*

[4] The text has *brihat* only, which may correspond to the Pali *brahmujju-gatto hoti*, and has so been translated here. Senart, however, would read *vṛittā*, which could be understood as "his limbs are rounded." This, however, is one of the *anuvyañjanāni*, or eighty "lesser characteristics." (Vol. 2. 43.)

[5] *Tiṣṭhanto.* Pali (?): *ṭhitako va anonamanto hoti ubhohi pāṇitalehi jaṇṇukāni parimasati parimajjati.*

[6] *Kośā.* Pali: *kosohita-vattha-guyho hoti.*

[7] *Nyagrodha.* Pali: *nigrodha-parimaṇḍalo hoti.*

[8] *Mṛidu.* Pali: *mudutaluṇahatthapādo hoti.*

[9] *Jālā.* Pali: *jāla-hattha-pādo hoti.*

[10] *Pratipūrṇā.* This corresponds to nothing in the Pali lists and has to be interpreted by reference to the "80 lesser characteristics."

[11] *Ekā.* Pali: *ekeka-lomo hoti, ekekāni lomāni loma-kūpesu jātāni.*

[12] *Ūrdhvāgra.* Pali: *uddhagga-lomo hoti.*

[13] *Ślakṣṇa-cchavi.* Although this term is practically equivalent to the single Pali term *sukhumacchavi*, the enumeration of the marks shows that it covers two. If we take *ślakṣṇa* as the key-word to the description of one mark and translate as above, we are left with *chavi*, which obviously refers to some other quality of the skin and this may be found among the "lesser characteristics."

[14] See preceding note.

[15] *Haṃsa.* This and the word to which it is joined, *antaro*, together look like a key-word to one only of the Pali terms, *viz. cit-antaraṃso*, literally "one whose shoulder-hole is heaped up." But to make up the quota of thirty-two, they must be taken as two. That is *haṃsa* refers to the mark of a "swan's gait," which is really, however, one of the lesser characteristics, while *antarā* is a mnemonic for the Pali *cit-antaraṃso*.

There is no hollow between his shoulder blades.[1]
His body has the seven convex surfaces.[2]
(227)*He has an exquisite sense of taste.*[3]
His skin is the colour of gold.[4]
He has the bust of a lion.[5]
He has regular teeth.[6]
His teeth are perfectly white.[7]
His bust is consistently rounded.[8]
His tongue is long and slender.[9]
His voice is like that of Brahmā.[10]
His eyes are blue.[11]
His eyelashes are like a cow's.[12]
Between his eyebrows he has a hairy mole.[13]
His head is shaped like a royal turban.[14]

Such is the saviour with the thirty-two marks of excellence.

Then King Arcimat asked the brāhmans[15] to give a fitting name to the child. The brāhmans replied, "Your majesty, when the child was born a great resplendent light[16] appeared, hence let the child be named Dīpaṃkara." Thus did the Śuddhāvāsa[17] devas, in the guise of brāhmans, give the name Dīpaṃkara to the child.

Capable nurses came and reared the child. And when the Bodhisattva had become a young man, the king had three

[1] See preceding note.
[2] *Utsadā.* Pali: *satt-ussado hoti.*
[3] *Rasaṃ.* Pali: *rasaggas-aggī hoti.*
[4] *Suvarṇo.* Pali: *suvaṇṇa-vaṇṇo hoti.*
[5] *Sīho.* This key-word can correspond to either of two terms in the Pali list, either *sīha-pubbaddhakāyo hoti* (as above) or *sīha-hanu hoti,* "he has the jaws of a lion."
[6] *Samā.* Pali: *samadanto hoti.*
[7] *Śukla.* Pali: *susukka-dāṭho hoti.*
[8] *Samā.* Pali: *samavattakkhandho hoti.*
[9] *Prabhūtā.* Pali: *pahūta-jivho hoti.*
[10] *Brahmā.* Pali: *brahma-ssaro hoti.*
[11] *Nīlā.* Pali: *abhinīla-netto hoti.*
[12] *Gopakṣma.* Pali: *go-pakhumo hoti.*
[13] *Ūrṇā.* Pali: *uṇṇā-bhamuk antare jātā hoti.*
[14] *Uṣnīsa sīrṣaṃ.* Pali: *uṇhīsa-sīso hoti.*
[15] *I.e.* the Maheśvaras (or Śuddhāvāsas) disguised as brāhmans.
[16] *Dīpo mahāṃ obhāso.* What had appeared, however, was the island in the lake (see p. 173). "Island" is *dvīpa* in Sanskrit, but in Pali *dīpa,* which is also Pali for "light." It would seem, therefore, as Senart suggests, that the story of the island was introduced by a narrator who had *dīpa* = "island" in mind.
[17] See note p. 178.

terraces made for him to play and stroll in, and a spacious gynaeceum was set near them.

Then the Bodhisattva in great regal pomp, magnificence and splendour went with the women for diversion in the pleasaunce of the Lotus Grove, and King Arcimat bade the women amuse the young man well. After sailing on the lake in boats which had platforms fore and aft, enclosed by railings,[1] with canopies spread above, and were draped in flowing bands of fine silk, carpeted with glittering cloth, scented and strewn with bright flowers, crescents and pearls, the Bodhisattva with the women[2] disembarked on the shore. His female escort fell asleep from weariness, one holding her chin, another leaning on her arm, another clasping a cymbal, another a flute, another a guitar, another a lute, another a trumpet,[3] another an anklet, another a tabor, another a *lālāghara*.[4] And when he saw them thus, there came over him an awareness of the burial ground.

ENLIGHTENMENT

In the middle of the lotus-pond a lotus appeared with petals as large as chariot-wheels, and surrounded by thousands of other lotuses. (**228**) The Bodhisattva sat cross-legged on that lotus, which immediately closed up to form a peaked roof over him.

All the outward marks of a layman vanished from the Bodhisattva's person, and he appeared in the yellow robes of a recluse. Then, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, the Bodhisattva Dīpaṃkara entered and abode in the first meditation,[5] which is aloof from sense desires and from sinful and evil ideas, is attended by applied and sustained thought, and is born of solitude and is full of zest and ease.

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[1] *Vedikā*. See note p. 153.

[2] Literally "on the shore (which was) without men," *niṣpuruṣe taṭe*. Cf. Pali *nippurisa*.

[3] *Sughoṣakī*, "well-sounding." Cf. *Sughoṣa*, the name of a trumpet in the *Bhagavadgītā*.

[4] Senart takes this to denote an unknown musical instrument. Miss I. B. Horner, however, in a note to the translator, suggests that the word means "spittoon," being compounded of *lālā*, "saliva," and *ghara*, "house," "receptacle."

[5] *Dhyāna*, Pali *jhāna*. The translation above follows closely that of the *jhāna* passages in the Pali texts, *e.g.*, *A*. 4. 410 f. (= *Grad. S*. 4. 276) and *D*. 1. 37–8 (= *Dial*. 1. 50–1). In the case of the first *jhāna*, however, the Pali texts have *vivicca*, "aloof," in the nominative agreeing with the subject, while the *Mahāvastu* has *viviktaṃ*, accusative, agreeing with *dhyānam*.

Suppressing applied and sustained thought, he entered and abode in the second meditation, which is born of concentration, is full of zest and ease, and is free from applied and sustained thought through the mind becoming inwardly calm and one-pointed.[1] Indifferent to the fervour of zest,[2] he abode mindful and self-possessed,[3] and entered and abode in the third meditation, which is free of zest, and experienced in his person that ease whereof the Āryans declare, "He that is indifferent[4] and mindful dwells at ease." By putting away ease and by putting away ill, by the passing away of the happiness and misery he formerly felt, he entered and abode in the fourth meditation, which is utter purity of equanimity[5] and mindfulness and is free of ill and ease.

Thus with heart composed, purified, cleansed, without blemish, free of the lusts, supple, ready to act, firm and unperturbed, he, in the first watch of the night, turned and applied his mind to acquire the sight of the deva-eye.[6] By means of his deva-eye he sees fair beings and foul beings passing away and coming to birth, perceives how they go to bournes of good and to bournes of ill in accordance with their karma.

Then the Bodhisattva, with heart composed, purified, cleansed, without blemish, free of the lusts, supple, ready to act, firm and unperturbed, in the middle watch of the night, recalled to mind his many different sojournings on earth, to wit, one birth, two births, three births, five, ten, twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, hundred, thousand, many hundreds **(229)**, many thousands, many hundred-thousands. He recalled to mind *kalpas* of the world's dissolution, *kalpas* of the world's evolution,[7] *kalpas* of both evolution and dissolution, many

[1] *Adhyātmasaṃprasādāccetasa: ekotībhāvād.* Instead of *adhyātma*, which evidently has adverbial force, the Pali has the adjectival *ajjhattam*, taken in *Grad. S.* (*l.c.*) as qualifying *jhānaṃ* and translated "self-evolved," but in *Dial.* (*l.c.*) as qualifying *sampasādanam* and translated "internal." In place of the causal genitives *samprasādād* and *ekotībhāvād*, the Pali has the accusative substantives *sampasādanaṃ* and *ekodibhāvaṃ* used appositionally to *jhānaṃ*.

[2] *Prītervirāgādupekṣaka.* *Upekṣaka* is adjective from *upekṣā*, Pali *upekkhā* or *upekhā*, "hedonic neutrality or indifference, zero point between joy and sorrow, disinterestedness, neutral feeling, equanimity. (*Pali Dictionary.*)

[3] Reading *samprajāna* for *samprajānaṃ*.

[4] *I.e.* to emotion.

[5] *Upekṣā.* See note 2 above.

[6] See note pp. 125-26. [7] *Samvartakalpa* and *vivartakalpa*. See note p. 43.

kalpas of the world's dissolution, many *kalpas* of the world's evolution, and many *kalpas* of both dissolution and evolution. (He remembered thus :) "At such and such a time I was named so and so, I was of such and such an ancestry, belonging to such and such a family. I ate such and such food. I had such and such an end to my life, and I experienced such and such ease and ill." Thus does he recount his different previous existences in all their details and particulars.

Then the Bodhisattva, with heart composed, purified, cleansed, without blemish, free of the lusts, firm and unperturbed, in the last watch of the night, in the flush of dawn[1] towards daybreak, woke up to all that the "elephant-man,"[2] the "lion-man," the "bull-man," the "red-and-white-lotus-man," "the white-lotus-man,"[3] the "man of the yoke," the "true man," the "noble steed of a man,"[4] the peerless driver of tameable men, the Sugata,[5] the mindful, the steadfast, and the intelligent man has at all times and everywhere to know, attain, become aware of and become fully aware of; he awakened to the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment by insight gained in a momentary flash of thought.

And then this great earth trembled and quaked six times, and the devas of earth raised a shout and made it heard in heaven, as they cried, "This exalted Dīpaṃkara, friends, will become awakened to the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment for the welfare and happiness of man, out of compassion for the world, for the sake of the great multitude, for the welfare and happiness of devas and men." When they heard the shout of the devas of earth, the devas of the heavens, namely, the Trāyastriṃśa devas, the Yāma devas, the Tuṣita devas, the Nirmāṇarati devas, and the Paranirmitavaśavartin devas, at

[1] *Nandīmukhāyām rajanyām*, "in the joy-faced night," although the etymology is not certain. *Nandīmukhā* is found as an epithet of night, especially of the eve of the *uposatha*, in *Lal. Vist.* 441, 447, and in Pali at *V.* 1. 288 and 2. 236.

[2] In other places where these expressions occur they have been rendered by conventional epithets such as "heroic," "valiant," *etc.*, but they have been rendered literally here, because, coming together in the same sentence they have a certain naïveté which would be spoilt by a paraphrase.

[3] With these two terms cf. *samaṇapuṇḍarīka* and *samaṇapaduma* at *A.* 2. 86–90.

[4] *Puruṣājāneya. Ājāneya*, Pali *ājāniya* (contr. *ājañña*), "of good race or breed," especially applied to a thoroughbred horse.

[5] Here denoted by the synonymous *gatima* = *gatimant*.

that moment, at that instant immediately raised a shout that reached the devas in Brahmā's world, crying, "This exalted Dīpaṃkara, friends, will become perfectly enlightened. And he will become so for the welfare and happiness of men, out of compassion for the world, for the sake of the great multitude, for the welfare and happiness of devas and men."

Then a great radiance, immense and sublime, shone forth in the world. And all the intervals between the spheres, regions of blackness lapped in blackness, of gloom lapped in gloom (**230**), and of eternal darkness,[1] where the moon and sun, powerful and majestic as they are, with all their brilliance cannot make their brilliance penetrate, with all their light cannot exert their light, even these regions become suffused with this radiance. The beings who had been reborn in those spheres became aware of one another (and cried), "Lo! There are other beings reborn here. Lo! There are other beings reborn here. Lo! There are other beings reborn here." Now all these beings were for that moment, for that instant, immersed in bliss. Even those reborn in the great hell Avīci excelled the splendour of devas, of Nāgas, and of Yakṣas. The realms of Māra were eclipsed, rendered lustreless, gloomy and joyless. They fell in fragments, here for one *kos*, there for two, there for three. They fell in fragments for *yojanas*. Their standards too fell, and wicked Māra was unhappy, discomfited, remorseful, tortured by an inward sting.

There in his lotus pavilion, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, the exalted Dīpaṃkara was attended by the Four Royal devas, by Śakra, the lord of devas, by the devas Suyāma, Santuṣita, Vaśavartin, Great Brahmā, and a company of many other devas. They paid sublime homage to the exalted Dīpaṃkara. They scattered on, about, and over the exalted Dīpaṃkara flowers of the celestial coral-tree, of the great coral-tree, of the *karṇikāra*,[2] of the *rocamāna*,[3] of the *bhīsma*,[4] of the great *bhīsma*, of the *samantagandha*,[5] of the great *samantagandha*, and powder

[1] Literally "darkness (or blackness) become darkness long ago," *aghā aghasaṃbhūtapūrvā*. The *Pali Dictionary*, *s.v. agha*, wrongly cites this as *aghasaṃvṛita*°. (The reference, 2. 240, is also wrong; it should be 1. 230 and 1. 240). See note p. 35.

[2] *Pterospermum acerifolium* or *Cassia fistula*.

[3] Unknown, but cf. *rocana*, the name of various flowering trees.

[4] Unknown.

[5] Name of a tree and its flowers in the *Mahāvyutpatti*.

of the sandal-wood tree, of the aloe-wood tree, of *keśara*, and of *tamāla* leaves. They worshipped him with thousands of celestial musical instruments. And then he was entreated by Great Brahmā to set rolling the incomparable wheel of dharma.

The exalted Dīpaṃkara silently intimated his assent to Great Brahmā. When the devas understood that he assented, rejoicing, delighted, enraptured,(**231**) joyous and content, they bowed at the feet of the exalted Dīpaṃkara, saluted him three times from the right, and departed.

After that night, the Exalted One emerged from his retirement and went wandering through the provinces.

> *Like the golden newly-risen sun in the sky, Dīpaṃkara fills a hundred* yojanas *with his radiance.*

As he went on his way doing good to a great multitude of devas and men, Dīpaṃkara, out of pity for his father Arcimat and his kinsfolk, came with eighty-thousand monks to the royal city of Dīpavatī. King Arcimat heard of this, for they told him, "The exalted Dīpaṃkara with eighty-thousand monks is coming to the royal city of Dīpavatī out of pity for his folk."

They carefully prepared the ten *kos* way from the park in the Lotus Grove to Dīpavatī and had it made even, like a chequered board, like the palm of a hand; they had it sprinkled and swept, with an awning stretched over it, and carpeted with bright cloth, festooned with bands of fine silk, well-scented, and crowded with dancers, mimes, athletes,[1] wrestlers and musicians in all directions. Still more was the universal king's citadel decorated, being made gay with hundreds of festoons. A rich scented garland was held by King Arcimat, and the people, too, everywhere from twelve *yojanas* around brought their garlands. And the king with eighty-thousand of his vassals and other people went forth to meet the exalted Dīpaṃkara.

[1] *Ṛillaka.* This word occurs also in the *Lotus* and is translated (p. 170) and explained (p. 409) by Burnouf as "musiciens," on the analogy of *ṛillari* "a musical instrument." He suggests, however, that the word may be a mistake for *jhallaka* or *jhalla*, which is given by Böhtlingk and Roth as meaning "athlete." This suggestion is accepted by Senart, and followed in the translation.

MEGHA AND MEGHADATTA

Now there was a certain learned man who was perfectly versed in the three Vedas and the six Vedāngas, in phonology,[1] in the fifth branch of study, that is, traditional lore,[2] and in the indexes and ritual.[3] He was an expert teacher of young brāhmans, and taught five-hundred of them from among the brāhman princes to recite the hymns of the Vedas,

At this time he had as pupils two young brāhmans, (232) named Megha and Meghadatta,[4] who were bound together by ties of mutual affection and friendship. The young brāhman Megha was clever, intelligent, thoughtful, and keen-witted, so that before long he had learnt all the hymns by heart. When he had completed learning the Vedas he left the Himalayas[5] and came down[6] into the provinces, saying, "I shall go and seek the means to pay my master's fees." He took with him his staff, his water-pot, his sunshade, his sandals and his bathing-mantle. Whatever village, city or town[7] he entered the confines of became free from affliction and distress through the power and influence[8] of the young brāhman Megha. On his way he begged of somebody, and was given five-hundred *purāṇas*.[9]

[1] *Sākṣaraprabhedāna*, "the breaking up of letters," "word-analysis."

[2] *Itihāsapañcama*, literally "traditional lore as the fifth." Cf. *D*. 1. 88.

[3] *Sanighaṇṭakaiṭabha* (*sic* for °*ubha*), from *nighaṇṭa* (Pali *nighaṇḍu*) "explained word, vocabulary, index" and *kaiṭubha* (Pali *keṭubha*) explained by Buddhaghosa (*DA*. 1. 247) as "the science which assists the officiating priest by laying down rules for the rites or by leaving them to his discretion." (See *Pali Dictionary*.)

[4] Of these two only Megha is mentioned in the Pali texts. In *Ap*. 2. 430 there is the story of a Megha, who, like the present one, lived in the time of Dīpaṃkara, but fulfilled the rôle Meghadatta has here. His opposite number in the Pali text is Sumedha (*D.P.N.*).

[5] Where learned men and ascetics generally had their hermitages and schools.

[6] *Okasta, i.e. avakasta*, of doubtful derivation, but here and elsewhere in our text obviously of this meaning.

[7] See note p. 14.

[8] Adopting Senart's suggestion that we should read *tejānubhāvena* for the *tejodhātubhāvena* of the text. For there need be no question here of those other miraculous phenomena associated with the word *tejodhātu*. *Tejas* is used here in just the same sense as it was above in denoting the influence or power of the unborn Bodhisattva.

[9] Literally "ancient pieces." Probably the copper not the silver coin of this name is meant here. It is not possible to say whether they were the earlier type of rectangular pieces of punched metal, tokens in fact, or the later stamped, legend-bearing and circular coins in the proper sense of the word.

Then the thought occurred to him, "What if I now go to the royal city of Dīpavatī that I may see the citadel of a universal king with its seven treasures and its joyfulness?" When he entered the royal city of Dīpavatī he saw that it was in festive array. He wondered to himself, "What holiday is there to-day in the royal city of Dīpavatī, or what public affair or what festival? Perhaps King Arcimat has heard that the young brāhman Megha, who has thoroughly mastered the Vedas, has come down from the Himalayas to the provinces, and is on his way to the royal city of Dīpavatī. Hence this gay adornment of the city." And as he goes forward he looks for someone who is entering the city to question him.

Just then there came along a young brāhman girl, gracious, comely, sedate, modest and coy, who was carrying a pitcher of water and seven lotuses. Megha asked her, "Is there a festival in the city to-day?" The young girl (who was named) Prakṛiti replied to Megha in verse

> *Of a truth, young man, you are not of this place; you have come from another city, since you do not know that the Benefactor of the world, the Light-bringer, has come to Dīpavatī.*
>
> (233) *Dīpaṃkara, the Guide of the world, Arcimat's glorious offspring, a Buddha, is about to enter the city. It is in honour of him that the city is gaily decked out.*

Megha asked her, "What price did you pay for those lotuses, lady?" She replied, "I bought five of them for five-hundred *purāṇas*, and the other two I had from a friend." Then the young brāhman, Megha, said to her, "I'll give you five-hundred *purāṇas* for the five lotuses. With them I'll pay homage to the exalted Dīpaṃkara, and you can honour him with the other two." She replied and said, "I'll give you the five lotuses on the one condition that you will take me to wife. Wherever you may be reborn, I shall be your wife and you will be my husband." The young brāhman Megha replied, "I mean to conceive the thought of winning the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment. How then shall I think of marriage?" She answered "Go on and conceive that thought. I shall not hinder you."

Megha consented, and said, "I shall take you to wife in

return for these lotuses. I shall honour the exalted Dīpaṃkara, and, also, I shall conceive the thought of winning the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment." When he had given the five-hundred *purāṇas* and received the five lotuses, a sublime and sweet exaltation rose within him as he heard the maiden Prakṛiti utter the name of Buddha.

> *"If you desire to honour the Guide of the world with a charming bouquet of lotuses, take me to wife to-day. So shall I be constantly faithful in love.*
>
> *"As the blossom of the glomerous fig-tree*[1] *but rarely is found appearing in the world, O young brāhman*(234), *so is it with the appearance of glorious Buddhas and Tathāgatas.*
>
> *"With this enchanting bouquet of lotuses do you honour the Buddha, the driver of tameable men. It will be the means of your enlightenment. And I shall everywhere be your wife."*

Megha replied :—

> *"To-day I take you to wife in return for this enchanting bouquet of lotuses. I shall honour the Buddha, the driver of tameable men, and this will be the means of my enlightenment."*
>
> *She, transported with joy, gave him the lotuses, knowing that he was allured by her love. And as he went his way she followed, until the young brāhman stood at a cross-roads.*

Now the Exalted One, accompanied by eighty-thousand monks and by King Arcimat with eighty-thousand vassals and several thousands of wealthy nobles, recluses, brāhmans and sectaries, was on his way to the royal city of Dīpavatī.

> *As the Exalted One sets forth, thousands of devas assemble, bringing thousands of sunshades studded with the seven precious stones.*
>
> *Then he, the possessor of great virtue, with the swinging gait of an elephant in rut, with his body covered in sparkling net-work, put himself at the head of the noble throng.*
>
> (235)*Devas hold sunshades over the pure deva, the handles of which were cunningly adorned with beryl, crystal, and solid gold.*

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[1] *Udumbara*, the Ficus glomerata. The rarity of Buddhas is often compared to the rarity of the blossoming of this tree.

These had been made by devas, and shone like the orb of the newly-risen sun in the sky. They were filled with brightly-shining, sweetly-tinkling bells.

The lord of the Three-and-Thirty devas held up a sunshade for him who shelters the world, a sunshade made in heaven, bejewelled with the seven precious stones and crowned with flowers of heaven.

Three thousand devas followed fanning the stainless lord, the sovereign of men, with a chowrie fan, the handle of which was well made of solid gold.

The earth heaves and subsides and subsides and heaves at the moment the Exalted One enters, owing to the power of the Daśabala.

And as soon as the Exalted One puts his golden-sandalled right foot down by Indra's column there arises a marvellous noise.

Trumpets resound, and tabours and war-drums, though no one beats them, and horns, cymbals and pipes are played as the Pre-eminent Man enters.

And all the jewels in the city which are kept in caskets and wickerwork boxes rattle together, when he who knows the best of all jewels enters.

Then they carpet the ground before the Exalted One with costly soft garments of many a kind, crimson-dyed Benares cloth and woven silk.

. . .[1]

(236)*From the edge of the park right up to the inner court of the great king, the path of the king of men was radiant in its carpet of a hundred-thousand cloths.*

And then young women go to the forest glades and gather heaps of flowers, which they shower on the lion-hearted man, pouring them over him as over a hill of gold.

As the mighty and merciful one draws near to Dīpavatī they pour the heaps of flowers on the glorious Exalted One.

These fragrant flowers when thrown from their hands stand over the Exalted One, the saviour of the world, like a

[1] A corrupt unintelligible passage of two lines, apparently specifying other kinds of material, or, perhaps, explaining those already named. Possibly, as Senart suggests, it is a gloss, as it breaks the continuity of the verse, and does not readily admit of a metrical arrangement.

five-hued canopy of blossoms.

Hovering unsupported in the air,[1] *these fragrant flowers with their stalks turned inwards salute him by moving to the right when he stops.*

When he, the Light of the world, moves on they follow; when he stops they stop. Not a single posture[2] *of the mighty All-conquering One do they miss.*

Even if the disintegrating winds[3] *of the end of the world carried away this universe of three thousand worlds, they could not shake the canopy of flowers, much less carry it away.*

The throng of devas in heaven, seeing the Exalted One all golden like the colour of the golden sugar-cane, exclaimed, "Behold the Dharma!"[4]

(**237**)*The sky is draped with festoons of flowers; floods of flowers knee-deep sparkle on the earth, and in the air stands the canopy of flowers.*

On all sides, to the accompaniment of music, exclamations of "Behold the Dharma" re-echo through the city as the valiant man enters.

The clear notes of the swan, sparrow, peacock and cuckoo, and the humming of bees are heard in Dīpavatī, mingling with the rattle of jewels in their caskets.

Then, Maudgalyāyana, the young brāhman Megha saw the exalted Dīpaṃkara coming when he was yet some distance away. He saw that he possessed the thirty-two marks of a Great Man, and the eighty minor characteristics; that his body was radiant; that he was endowed with the eighteen special attributes of a Buddha;[5] that he was strong with

[1] Literally "in the unsupported pathway of the sky," *gaganapathe nirālambe*. Cf. note p. 166.

[2] *Īryāpatha*, see note p. 18.

[3] *Samvartakā vātā*, the winds supposed to blow during the aeon of the "rolling up" (*samvartati*, see p. 43) or dissolution of the world.

[4] *Aho dharmaṃ*. Senart interprets *dharmaṃ* here as a shortened form of *adbhutadharmaṃ*, and renders, "Ah! quel miracle! quelle merveille!" Miss I. B. Horner, however, in a note to the translator, makes the happy suggestion that the phrase is to be interpreted on the analogy of such Pali expressions as *Bhagavā dhammabhūto* (*A*. 5. 226, *etc.*) and *yo dhammaṃ passati so maṃ passati* (*S*. 3. 120, *etc.*) That is to say, the Buddha is here hailed and identified as the very incarnation of the dharma. If objection be taken to *dharmam* as an accusative of exclamation there is manuscript authority for the vocative *dharma*.

[5] *I.e.* the *āveṇikā dharmā*. See above p. 33.

a Tathāgata's ten powers, and gifted with the four grounds of perfect self-confidence.[1] He was like a Nāga, perfected in action, with his faculties turned inwards, with a mind not turned to external things; he was steadfast in dharma, with his faculties under control, with his mind calmed, having attained the perfection of the ideal self-control and tranquillity, and having himself well-guarded. He was like a Nāga who had triumphed over the functions of his senses, who was transparent as a pool, not muddied, but pure and fair. He was good to look upon, lovely, of peerless birth, shining with a lovely radiance that extended a *yojana*.

When he had seen all this, perception of the truth[2] came to Megha and he exclaimed, "I, too, will become a Buddha in the world." Then, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, the young brāhman Megha recited these verses:—

> *It has taken a long time for the All-seeing One to appear in the world. It takes a long time for Tathāgatas to be born. After a long time, too, my vow will be fulfilled, and I shall become a Buddha. Of this I have no doubt.*

(238) Then, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, the young brāhman Megha feeling a sublime exhilaration, a sublime joy and gladness, threw those five lotuses towards the exalted Dīpaṃkara, and they remained fixed as a bright veil covering the circle of Dīpaṃkara's head. The young brāhman girl Prakṛiti, also, threw her two lotuses, and these, too, stood suspended in the air.

Exalted Buddhas convince people by means of three miracles,[3] the miracle of magic power, the miracle of mind-reading,[4] and the miracle of instruction. The five lotuses thrown at the exalted Dīpaṃkara by the young brāhman Megha, those thrown by the young brāhman girl Prakṛiti, and those thrown

[1] *Vaiśāradya*. See p. 33.

[2] *Advayasaṃjñā*. The meaning of *advaya* in this term is not certain. Senart cites Hemacandra who gives *advaya* as a name for the Buddha, while the *Mahāvyutpatti* gives *advayavādin* as a similar name. From the latter it would appear that *advaya* could denote "Buddhist doctrine" or "truth." Miss I. B. Horner has called the translator's attention to what may be a related idea in *Sn.* 884, *ekaṃ hi saccaṃ na dutīyam atthi*.
trained

[3] *Prātihārya*, Pali *pāṭihāriya*.

[4] *Ādeśanā*, Pali *ādesanā*.

by other people, stood over the Exalted One as a canopy of flowers so as to win power over men ready to be trained,[1] and to bring joy and gladness to the young brāhman Megha. It was a canopy[2] lovely and fair to behold, with four props, four entrances, and draped with festoons of fine cloth.

When Megha saw these lovely and bright lotuses standing all around over the radiant head of the Exalted One, joy and gladness arose in him as he became aware of his sublime thought. Putting his water-pot on one side, and spreading out his robe on the ground, he threw himself down at the feet of the Exalted One and wiped the soles of them with his hair. And then he conceived this thought :—

"Ah ! May I too in some future time become a Tathāgata, an Arhan, a perfect Buddha, gifted with knowledge and conduct, a Sugata, an unsurpassed knower of the world, a driver of tameable men, a teacher of devas and men, as this exalted Dīpaṃkara now is. So may I become endowed with the thirty-two marks of a Great Man, with his eighty minor characteristics, and with his radiant body. May I become endowed with the eighteen special attributes of a Buddha, strong with a Tathāgata's ten powers, and confident with the four grounds of self-confidence, as this exalted Dīpaṃkara now is. So may I set rolling the incomparable wheel of dharma, as does now the exalted Dīpaṃkara. So may I preserve a body of disciples in harmony. So may devas and men deem me worthy to be heard(239) and believed. Having thus crossed, may I lead others across ; emancipated, may I emancipate others ; comforted, may I comfort others, as this exalted Dīpaṃkara now does. May I become this for the happiness and welfare of mankind, out of compassion for the world, for the sake of the great multitude, for the happiness and welfare of devas and men."

Then, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, the exalted Dīpaṃkara, aware of the young brāhman Megha's great striving after the unsurpassed knowledge of a Buddha, aware of his store of the roots of goodness and of the vow of his heart, and knowing

[1] Or, " because, for the sake of, men ready to be trained." *Vaineyavaśena* For *vaineya* see note p. 42.
[2] *Vitāna*. The accompanying adjectives are masculine, as the substantive itself sometimes is, although it is neuter immediately above.

that he was without fault or defect, without blemish or scar, proclaimed that he would win the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment. "You will become, O young brāhman," said he, "in the future, after an immeasurable, incalculable *kalpa*, in Kapilavastu, the city of the Śākyans, a Tathāgata of the name of Śākyamuni, an Arhan, a perfect Buddha, gifted with knowledge and conduct, a Sugata, an unsurpassed knower of the world, a driver of tameable men, a teacher of devas and men, as I now am. You will become endowed with the thirty-two marks of a Great Man, his eighty minor characteristics and his radiant body. You will become gifted with the eighteen special attributes of a Buddha, strong with a Tathāgata's ten powers, and confident with the four grounds of self-confidence. Having yourself crossed, you will lead others across; emancipated, you will emancipate others; comforted, you will comfort others; having won final release you will give final release to others, as I now do. So will you set rolling the incomparable wheel of dharma. So will you preserve a body of disciples in harmony. So will devas and men deem you worthy to be heard and believed. And as I now am, you will become this for the welfare and happiness of mankind, out of compassion for the world, for the sake of the great multitude, and for the welfare and happiness of devas and men.

Immediately, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, it had been proclaimed by the exalted Dīpaṃkara that he would win the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment, the young brāhman Megha rose up in the air as high as a palm-tree, and, throwing his cloak over one shoulder, with joined hands outstretched he did obeisance to the exalted Dīpaṃkara and his disciples. And at that moment and instant this great earth trembled and shook violently six times. The devas of earth raised a shout and made their cries heard as they shouted, (240) "Now it has been proclaimed by the exalted Dīpaṃkara that this young brāhman Megha will win the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment. He will do so for the welfare and happiness of mankind, out of compassion for the world, for the sake of the great multitude, for the welfare and happiness of devas and men."

Hearing the shout of the devas of earth, the devas of heaven, the Cāturmahārājika devas, the Trāyastriṃśa devas, the Yāma

devas, the Tuṣita devas, the Nirmāṇarati devas and the Paranirmitavaśavartin devas, at that moment and instant raised a shout that reached the devas in Brahmā's heaven, crying, "Behold, thus has this young brāhman Megha been proclaimed by the exalted Dīpaṃkara to win the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment. He will do so for the welfare and happiness of mankind, out of compassion for the world, for the sake of the great multitude, for the welfare and happiness of devas and men."

Then a great radiance, immense and sublime, shone forth in the world. And all the intervals between the spheres, regions of blackness lapped in blackness, of gloom lapped in gloom, of eternal darkness, where the moon and sun, powerful and majestic though they are, with all their brilliance cannot make their brilliance penetrate, with all their light cannot exert their light, suddenly became suffused with this radiance. The beings who had been reborn in those spheres became aware of one another, (and cried) "Lo! there are other beings reborn here. Lo! There are other beings reborn here." Now all those beings were for that instant, for that moment immersed in bliss. Even those reborn in the great hell Avīci excelled the splendour of devas, of Nāgas, and of Yakṣas. The realms of Māra were eclipsed, rendered lustreless, gloomy and joyless. They fell in fragments, here for one *kos*, there for two, there for three. They fell in fragments for *yojanas*. Their standards, too, fell, and wicked Māra was unhappy, discomfited, remorseful, tortured by an inward sting.

(241)*Spreading*[1] *out his robe, and putting his water-pot on one side, he threw the lotuses he had in his hand, and fell down at the feet of the All-Wise.*

The fragrant lotuses, when they leave his hand, stand to form a flowery five-hued canopy for the exalted saviour of the world.

Hovering unsupported in the air, these fragrant flowers with their stalks turned inwards, saluted him by moving to the right when he stopped.

As the Light of the world moves on, they follow; they stop

[1] A metrical, but almost verbally identical version of the prose passage above.

when he stops. They do not miss a single posture of the mighty All-conquering One.

Even if the disintegrating winds of the world's end carried away the universe of three-thousand worlds, they could not touch this canopy of flowers, much less carry it away.

The throngs of devas in heaven, seeing the Exalted One all golden like the golden sugar-cane, exclaimed, "Behold the Dharma!"[1]

Then the earth with ocean and sky quaked, and among the devas in heaven a wondrous shout went up when this prediction was proclaimed.

The Exalted One who carries high the banner of the unique good news, the sage Dīpaṃkara, has foretold of this Megha, "You will become a Conqueror.

"You will do[2] *this for the welfare and happiness of the worlds of men, of Brahmā, of Sura and Asura. The desolate ways and the hells will fade away, the devas will wax strong."*

(242)*A*[3] *most incalculable* kalpa[4] *ago there was a Master, named Dīpaṃkara, a light, a refuge, and a haven, a preacher of his own dharma, exalted, a prince of men.*

He, in his wisdom having attained the highest good, confidently set rolling the wheel of dharma. Mindful, and firmly established in truth and dharma, he raised men out of their great fear and the rough places.

Megha saw the leader of the throng of recluses, Dīpaṃkara, who bore the bright marks of perfection. Calming his heart he worshipped the Conqueror, and as he worshipped he made his vow:—

"So may I live through this world as he whose mind is free of attachment lives. May I set rolling the incomparable wheel of dharma, the well-wrought wheel revered of devas and men.

"May I live for the sake of the world, and teach dharma to devas and men. So may I convert men as this Light of the world now does."

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[1] *Aho dharmaṃ.* See note p. 192.

[2] *Kāhasi*, Pali future of *karoti*. Cf. *kāhinti*, p. 256 (text).

[3] Another metrical version of the proclamation of Megha's future Buddhahood, but without the details of the legend as given above.

[4] *Asaṃkhyeyatara*, comparative for superlative, as often.

Aware of his vow and seeing that he was free of all attachments, qualified in all respects, without fault, defect, blemish or scar, the wise Conqueror, in his discernment of what is good, proclaimed,

(243) "*Young Megha, in an incalculable* kalpa *hence you will become a Buddha. When you are a Śākyan in Kapilavastu, the abode of seers, then will you realise your vow.*"

Megha sent[1] another five-hundred *purāṇas* to his master, and when he had presented them he related to Meghadatta all that had happened. "Thus did I," said he, "honour the exalted Dīpaṃkara, and he proclaimed that I should win the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment. Let us two now go to the presence of the exalted Dīpaṃkara, live the holy life and join his assembly."

Meghadatta replied, "As yet I have not mastered the Vedas, and so I cannot go."

When the association of friendship is rudely shattered and destroyed, men become as driftwood which is scattered in pieces upon the great sea.

But Megha went and embraced the religious life with Dīpaṃkara. People like Megha, because of their friendship with what is lovely,[2] after winning the favour of and worshipping innumerable countless thousands of *koṭis* of Buddhas and their companies of disciples, and after worshipping countless *koṭis* of *nayutas* of Pratyekabuddhas, experience the happiness that is attainable by devas and men,[3] until finally they awake to the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment. For he[4] who has listened to the Driver of tameable men prays that he may not again go

[1] *Preśitāni*. As no mention is made of Megha's securing another five-hundred pieces,and as he seems to take the money in person, Senart suggests that *preśitāni* should be corrected into *yācitāni*, "begged," *i.e.* for his master.

[2] *Kalyāṇamitrāṇyāgamya*. Cf. *S*. 5. 3 *mamaṃ kalyāṇamittam āgamma*, "because of my friendship with what is lovely," (*K.S*. 5. 3.) The Pali Commentary explains *āgamma* as equivalent to *ārabbha*, *sandhāya* or *paṭicca*, *i.e.* "beginning with" or "owing to." Senart, in his note, had already, without the aid of the Pali parallel, given this sense to *āgamya*.

[3] A reference to the three attainments (*sampatti*) *viz*. (1) happiness in the world; (2) happiness among the devas; (3) Nirvāna. (See references in *Pali Dictionary* s.v. *sampatti*.)

[4] The text here is corrupt; The first *rūpam* (*yo rūpam naradamyasārathin śrutvā*) is unintelligible. Possibly it conceals some epithet of the Buddha.

and grasp at material form[1] and the substratum[2] of existence.

But all Meghadatta said was, "This young brāhman Megha is much too ready to bow his head." And he was not at all thrilled at hearing news of the Buddha from the young brāhman Megha. Through consorting with bad friends, he went on to commit the five crimes that bring immediate retribution.[3]

He fell in love with another man's wife whom he visited (**244**) early and late. Her mother, out of love for her child, tried to keep him away, fearing lest the husband should take him for an adulterer and kill him.

> *The impassioned man does not know moral good, nor does he see dharma. When passion overcomes a man, he becomes blinded.*

Meghadatta killed the mother, and then went to his mistress, and in his infatuation laughingly told her what he had done. "I love you so much," said he, "that for your sake I killed your mother." The woman was horrified, and replied, "Do not come to me any more."

He next became infatuated with his step-mother. She told him, "Go and kill your father, and you shall be my husband." So he murdered his own father.

He was shunned in the neighbourhood, and his friends and relatives avoided him. From that neighbourhood he went to another place, saying, "No one will know me here." Now to that place there came, in the course of his wanderings through the provinces, a monk who was a client[4] of his parents, and an arhan of great power. This monk saw his patrons' son there.

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[1] *Rūpa.*

[2] *Upādi*, Pali *id.* "Stuff of life, substratum of existence" (*Pali Dictionary*). In Pali always in the compound *upādisesa*, "having some basis of existence left," and more frequently negative, *anupādisesa*, as descriptive of *nibbāna*. Cf. above p. 69 (text), *anupādivimuktī*, "complete release."

[3] *Pañcānantaryāṇi* sc. *karmāṇi*. The five such crimes specified here are matricide, parricide, killing an Arhan, causing schisms, and wounding a Buddha. These are five of the six *abhiṭhānas* referred to at *Sn.* 231 = *Kh.* 6. 10 and enumerated by the Commentary on that passage as consisting of the five just named, together with the crime of following other teachers. The only other place where these crimes are given as five, viz. *Miln.* 25, does not say what they were, for the five offences mentioned immediately before, murder, theft, impurity, lying and intemperance are the converse of the five *śīlani*. See p. 168 and Mrs. Rhys Davids at *Dhs. trsl.* 267.

[4] *Kulopaka.*

But when Meghadatta in his turn saw the monk he became apprehensive, and said, "This monk must not be allowed to cause me any trouble here." And he murdered the monk and arhan.

Then he embraced the teaching of him who was the perfect Buddha of the time. But when he had done so he caused dissension in the community, and wounded the Buddha till the blood ran.

For committing these five crimes he was reborn in the great hells. In the course of a long period of time he passed through one life after another in the eight great hells and in the sixteen secondary ones. **(245)** When the exalted Śākyamuni awoke to the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment and set rolling the wheel of dharma, Meghadatta came to life in the great ocean as a fish named Timitimingila,[1] many hundred *yojanas* in length.

When the layman Thapakarṇi[2] with five-hundred companions sailed in his ships towards that part of the ocean where the hungry sea-monster dwelt, there it was with its mouth gaping wide in readiness for food. The vessels of Sthapakarṇika the layman came to the very spot where the monster was. Lifting its jaws out of the water the monster said to him, "Layman, these vessels are doomed to the infernal regions. Do what you have to do, for your life is over."

The sailors call on the gods, each ship invoking its own. Some invoke Śiva, others Vaiśravaṇa, others Skandha, others Varuṇa, others Yama, others Dhṛitarāṣṭra, others Virūḍhaka, others Virūpakṣa, others Indra, others Brahmā, and others the gods of the sea.[3] At length the venerable Pūrṇaka[4] observes and sees the layman Sthapakarṇika and his five-hundred companions in their distress. He rose up from Mount Tuṇḍaturika[5] and came flying through the air until he stood hovering

[1] A word meaning "swallowing whale after whale"—*timi*, a fabulous fish. Cf. *J.* v. 462; *V.* 2. 238; *Ud.* 54.

[2] Or Sthapakarṇika, as below, a name identical with Stavakarṇin in the *Pūrṇaka* story in the *Divyāvadāna* (pp. 24 ff.) which has been translated by Burnouf in his *Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme indien*, pp. 255 ff.

[3] Vaiśravaṇa, epithet of Kuvera, god of wealth (Pali *Vessavaṇa*), Dhṛitarāṣṭra (Pali *Dhataraṭṭha*), Virūḍhaka (Pali *Virūḷha* and *Virūḷhaka*), and Virūpakṣa (Pali *Virūpakkha*) are the Four Great Kings or Regents. See p. 25. Skandha (*sic* for Skanda) is a name for Kārttikeya, son of Śiva and god of war (Pali *Khanda*) "mentioned with Siva in the *Udāna Commentary*, 351" (*D.P.N.*). The other names are well known.

[4] Several persons of this name are mentioned in the Pali texts.

[5] Otherwise unknown.

over the vessel of Thapakarṇi on the sea. And all the five hundred merchants, stretching out their joined hands, stood up and cried, "Lord, lord, we turn to thee for salvation."

The wise man replied, "I am not the Exalted One. I am but a disciple of his. Do you all with one voice cry out, 'Homage to the Buddha.'" And all the five-hundred merchants cried out "Homage to the Buddha." The sound of the Buddha's name reached the ears of Timitimingila, and this sound which he had heard an immeasurable incalculable *kalpa* before when the young brāhman Megha had mentioned the name of the Buddha Dīpaṃkara, came to him again when he was in the form of the fish Timitimingila in the great ocean.

The sound of the Buddha's name is not unavailing. And now, in the form of Timitimingila, Meghadatta thought, "A Buddha has appeared in the world, whilst I am fallen into a state of woe." Deeply moved he shut his jaws again, and just because he had called to mind the Buddha's name he died of hunger. Immediately after his death he was reborn in the great city of Śrāvastī,(**246**) in a family of brāhmans. There was he born and grew up to be a young lad.

As it has been said by the Exalted One, "I declare, monks, there is no other cause but karma."

Now the name of Dharmaruci was given to this young lad, and when he grew up he embraced the teaching of the Exalted One. By application, endeavour and exertion he attained the three stages of knowledge[1] and the six super-knowledges[2], and realised the mastery of the powers.[3] Three times daily did he repair to the Exalted One to bow at his feet, and each time the Exalted One reproved and reminded him, saying, "It is a long time, Dharmaruci, it is a very long time, Dharmaruci."

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[1] *Vidyā*, Pali *vijjā*. When given as three the *vidyās* usually denote the last three degrees in the third stage of attainment of the highest knowledge, *viz.*, *prajñāsampadā*. (The other two are *śīlasampadā* and *cittasampadā*.) The three degrees referred to are (1) memory of past lives, (2) knowledge of passing away and coming to be, and (3) the knowledge of the eradication of the *āśravas*.

[2] *Abhijñā*, Pali *abhiññā*, as described *e.g.* at *D.* 3. 280 are six, and consist of (1) various manifestations of *ṛiddhi* (*iddhi*) or magic power, (2) the possession of the "deva-ear" or clairaudience, (3) mind-reading, (4) memory of former lives, (5) the "deva-eye" or clairvoyance, and (6) the eradication of the *āśravas*. Three of them are thus identical with the three *vidyās*.

[3] See p. 43.

And Dharmaruci always replied, "Just so, Lord, just so, Sugata. It is a long time, Lord, a very long time, Sugata."

The monks in perplexity inquired of the Exalted One, saying, "Three times a day does Dharmaruci come to the Exalted One and the Exalted One says, 'It is a long time, Dharmaruci, it is a very long time, Dharmaruci.' And Dharmaruci always replies, 'Just so, Lord, just so, Sugata. It is a long time, Lord, a very long time, Sugata.' Now we, Lord, do not understand the meaning of these words."

The Exalted One explained in detail to these monks the course of events since the time of Dīpaṃkara, "and," he added, "I was the young brāhman Megha, and Dharmaruci here was Meghadatta."

"Thus, monks, not in vain is the sound of the Buddha's name. It persists until all ill ceases."

Then[1] *Dharmaruci, the elder, approached the Master and bowed at his feet. The Master said, "It is a very long time, Dharmaruci."*

"It is a very long time, O Guide of the world," says Dharmaruci in reply to the Master, and the Conqueror, though he knows,[2] *asks him, "Why do you say, 'It is a very long time'?"*

Dharmaruci replies, "Of yore I was the fish Timitimingila in the sea, extremely weak from hunger, and foraging[3] *for my food.*

(247) *"Many* nayutas *of creatures had found their way into my maw, when there came along five-hundred merchants, in their ships.*

"When the vessels came my way all the merchants, distraught with terror at the peril they were in, with one voice called out, 'Homage to the Buddha, to the Daśabala.'

"Hearing the sound of the Buddha's name, unheard of by me before,[4] *I was gladdened, thrilled and uplifted in heart, and I hurriedly closed my mouth.*

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[1] A metrical version of the story of Meghadatta.
[2] Reading *jānanto* for *jānantaṃ* of the text.
[3] *Viparimuṣaṃ*, root *muṣ*, "to plunder"—a doubtful conjecture by Senart.
[4] *aśruta*. Is this correct here? In the prose version the fish, as Meghadatta, had heard of the Buddha from his companion Megha.

"Nayutas *of beings reborn as beasts heard these five-hundred merchants, and through the sound of the Daśabala's name I raised myself out of my state of woe.*

"Lord, it was through this meritorious act of mine that I won my present human state. It was as the fruit of this good conduct that I came to be called Dharmaruci.

"By that same cause, O Self-becoming One, not long after I had become a monk under thy teaching, I shed my lusts and became an arhan.

"Having gone through an endless round of rebirths for koṭis *of* nayutas *of* kalpas, *I called to mind the Sugata, and exclaimed, 'At long last, O Benefactor of the world.'*

"At long last my dharma-eye[1] *is cleared, my doubt of dharma is dispelled. Long did I dwell in the dark dungeon of folly, in states of woe.*

"By this merit of mine, the darkness was dissipated, and passion and hatred were suppressed. And here at length is this birth of mine free of any residual basis[2] *of another life, with the stream that is a conduit to further existence*[3] *completely dried up.*

"Great then was the fruit for Timitimingila of his hearing the Buddha's name. Who, then, Lord, would not produce that immortal sound?

(248)*"One must therefore rid oneself of the five hindrances*[4] *which are the shackles of the heart, and listen to the Buddha's voice, fully realising how rare a thing it is.*

"Hard is it for men to win deliverance from the jungles of unreal forms. But Buddhas appear, and then will come faith and release."

Here ends the history of Dīpaṃkara in the *Mahāvastu-Avadāna.*[5]

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[1] See p. 126.
[2] *aśeṣā,* "without a remnant," for *anupādiśeṣa* see p. 199.
[3] *bhavanetri,* Pali *bhavanetti.*
[4] *Nīvaraṇā,* see p. 117.
[5] Compare *Apadāna* 489.

THE BUDDHA MANGALA

After that auspicious *kalpa*, an infinite, immeasurable, incalculable *kalpa* afterwards, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, there appeared next after Dīpaṃkara the Tathāgata, Arhan and perfect Buddha named Mangala. And when Mangala was the perfect Buddha the span of man's life was a hundred thousand *koṭis* of years.

Mangala held three assemblies of his disciples. In the first assembly there were one hundred thousand *koṭis* of disciples, all arhans who had destroyed the *āśravas*, who had kept the observances, who had their minds liberated by perfect knowledge, whose fetters binding them to existence were utterly decayed, and who had reached their goal. The second assembly consisted of ninety *koṭis* of disciples, all arhans who had destroyed the *āśravas*, who had kept the observances, who had their minds liberated by perfect knowledge, whose fetters binding them to existence were utterly decayed, and who had reached their goal. The third assembly consisted of eighty *koṭis* of disciples, all arhans who had destroyed the *āśravas*, who had kept the observances, who had their minds liberated by perfect knowledge, whose fetters binding them to existence were utterly decayed, and who had reached their goal.

Again, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, the perfect Buddha Mangala had a pre-eminent and noble pair of disciples, named Sudeva and Dharmadeva, the former eminent for his wisdom, the latter for his magic power. He had a nun named Śīvālī, and a leading female disciple named Aśokā, the former eminent for her wisdom and the latter for her magic power.[1] He had an attendant monk(249) named Pālita. His *bodhi* tree was the iron-wood tree.[2] His city was called Uttara, and it extended twelve *yojanas* east and west and seven *yojanas* south and north, and was surrounded by seven golden ramparts with golden roofs. It was encircled by seven long lakes shining and sparkling with the seven hues of gold, silver, pearl, beryl,

[1] With the exception of Dhammasena for Dharmadeva, these are also the chief monks and nuns of Mangala in the Pali texts. There, too, Pālita (see below) is his attendant, and Uttara his city.

[2] *Nāgavṛikṣa* (Pali *nāgarukkha*) usually *nāgakeśara*, a tree noted for its hard wood and great masses of red flowers—*messua Roxburghii* or *ferrea Lin.*

crystal, coral, and ruby. These lakes had stairs leading down to them of two precious substances, gold and silver. The steps of these stairs were of the four precious substances, gold, silver, pearl and beryl. These lakes were covered with lotuses, blue, red and white, of fragrant smell. They were shaded by trees of these kinds, to wit, the mango, the rose-apple, the bread-fruit, the *lakuca*,[1] the *bhavya*,[2] and the *pālevata*.[3] On the shores of these lakes, again, were beds of land and water plants, to wit, *atimuktaka*,[4] *campaka*,[5] jasmine, *vātuskāra*,[6] blue water-lily, and *damanaka*,[7] flowers culled by devas.

Again, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, the city of Uttara was surrounded by seven rows of palm-trees—in general the description of the royal city of Dīpavatī can be applied to it.

The perfect Buddha Mangala's father, named Sundara, was a noble and a universal king. His mother was the queen named Śirī.[8]

At that time, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, I was a Nāga king, named Atula, one who had done good deeds and had great authority and a store of outstanding merit.(250) I venerated, honoured, revered, and worshipped the exalted Mangala and his community of disciples, gave him a suit of garments, and made my vow to win enlightenment. The Exalted One proclaimed of me, "In an immeasurable, incalculable *kalpa* in the future, you will become a Tathāgata named Śākyamuni, an Arhan, a perfect Buddha."

After Dīpaṃkara came a Leader named Mangala, who dispelled the darkness in the world and lit his torch of dharma.

Matchless was his radiance beyond other Conquerors. He shone forth with his thousand rays, outshining the radiance of a koṭi *of suns.*

And this Buddha expounded the four ultimate truths, and men, imbibing this essence of truth, dissipated the great darkness.

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[1] A species of bread-fruit tree.
[2] Perhaps, *Averrhoa carambola*.
[3] *Diospyros embryopheris*.
[4] *Gaertnera racemosa*.
[5] See p. 172.
[6] An unknown plant. The reading is doubtful.
[7] *I.e. damana*, the flower *Artemisia Indica*, commonly called *Donā*.
[8] In the Pali texts his parents are Uttara and Uttarā.

When he had awakened to the unsurpassed enlightenment there was first a conversion[1] *of a hundred thousand* koṭis *at the first preaching of dharma to the devas.*

When[2] *. . . then the Buddha beat the peerless drum of dharma.*

Again, when he expounded the Four Truths in the second assembly of devas, there was a second conversion of ninety koṭis.

When Sundara, the universal king, accepted Buddha and the dharma, the perfect Buddha beat the peerless drum of dharma.

Sunanda's[3] *subjects were ninety* koṭis *of men. All these without exception became disciples of the Buddha.*

(251) *When he again expounded the Four Truths in a third assembly of devas there was a third conversion of eighty* koṭis.

When the layman Uttara[4] *accepted the Buddha's teaching, then the perfect Buddha beat the peerless drum of dharma.*

Uttara's subjects were eighty koṭis *of men, and all these without exception became disciples of the Buddha.*

The great seer Mangala held three assemblies of disciples, who were rid of the āśravas, *passionless, calm, and austere.*

The first assembly consisted of a hundred-thousand koṭis, *the second of ninety, and the third of eighty.*

At that time I was a Nāga king, named Atula, enjoying great prosperity and possessing an outstanding store of merit.

To the accompaniment of the celestial instruments of the Nāgas I sang the praises of the great seer Mangala, gave him garments, and came to his refuge.

He, Mangala, the Buddha, the Guide of the world, proclaimed of me, "In an immeasurable kalpa *hence you will*

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[1] Or "conviction," *abhisamaya* (Pali *id.*) "insight into, comprehension, realisation," *etc.* See *Pali Dictionary* and *Kvu. trsl.* 381 f.

[2] Lacuna. Cf. *Budv. IV.*

[3] *Sic* for Sundara.

[4] Possibly an echo of the tradition preserved in the Pali texts, where this was the name of Mangala's father. He is called a "layman" (*gṛihapati*) as he could not be called a *cakravartin* so soon after the mention of another, although his retinue is that of a universal king, not that of a layman. This reference to the Pali texts solves the difficulty caused by the name better than Senart's suggestion in his notes on this passage, namely, that the passage is an interpolation which grew out of a gloss giving "Uttara" as a synonym for Sundara.

become a Buddha in the world, in the happy flourishing city of the Śākyans, Kapilavastu.

"The mother who will bear you will be called Māyā. Your father will be a Gotama, named Śuddhodana.

"Kolita and Upatiṣya will be your chief disciples ; Kṣemā and Utpalavarṇā your chief nuns.[1]

"Your attendant will be named Ānanda,(252) *and your* bodhi *tree will be that noble tree, the holy fig-tree.*[2] "

When I heard this prediction by the great seer Mangala, I exerted my energy and made my mind steady with the resolve never, as I fared along, to abandon the ways of enlightenment.

Uttara was the name of the great seer Mangala's city, Sundara the name of the noble, his father, and Śirikā his mother's name. Sudeva and Dharmadeva were the great seer Mangala's chief disciples, Śīvālī and Aśokā his chief female disciples.

His attendant was named Pālita, and his bodhi *tree was the blossoming iron-wood tree.*

The great seer had a brotherhood of a hundred thousand koṭis, *and while on earth the great hero led across a great multitude.*

He led across a great multitude by spreading his teaching abroad, shining bright as fire or the newly-risen sun.

As it is not possible to count the waves of the ocean, so is it not possible to count the sons of the Exalted One.

And now the blessed Buddha, the true dharma, and the noble company of his disciples all are wholly gone. Are not all existing things[3] *vanity.*[4] *?*

Here ends the history of Mangala in the *Mahāvastu-Avadāna.*

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[1] So in the Pali tradition, Kolita and Upatiṣya being the personal names of Mahā-Maudgalyāyana and Śāriputra, respectively. Similarly with regard to Ānanda (below).

[2] *Aśvattha* (Pali *assattha*), usually, though doubtfully, explained as *aśva-stha,* " where the horse stands." The *Ficus religiosa.*

[3] *Saṃskārā.* See p. 99.

[4] Reading *nanu riktā* on the analogy of *Bu.* II. 219 (p. 18) (*sabbaṃ samantarahitaṃ nanu rittā sabbasankhārā*) for *anuriktā* of the text. The emendation seems to be justified, also, by the reading of one MS. which has °*ttān anuriktā* for the °*ttā anuriktā* of the text.

THE BUDDHA'S VISIT TO VEŚĀLĪ

(253)Here begins the story of the sunshades.

On the slopes of the Himalayas there dwelt a Yakṣinī,[1] named Kuṇḍalā, who in two successive years gave birth to five hundred sons, and when she had begotten these thousand sons she died. These sons were sent to Vaiśālī[2] to rob it of its strength,[3] and when they came there they robbed men of their strength.

There are two kinds of disease which are produced by demonic agency,[4] *maṇḍalaka* and *adhivāsa*.[5] The plague *maṇḍalaka*, when it attacks a family, does not spare anyone, but carries away everybody. The plague called *adhivāsa* attacks a whole district.

Now the people of Vaiśālī were stricken with the *adhivāsa* and many died.[6] They prayed to one deva after another, and they wondered who would come and relieve the affliction of the people of Vaiśāli. They sent for Kāśyapa Pūraṇa, saying, "Come, a demonic plague has broken out among the people of Vaiśālī. If you come, it will be allayed."[7]

Kāśyapa Pūraṇa came to Vaiśālī but failed to allay the plague. And the people reflected, "Kāśyapa has come, but the demonic plague has not been allayed."

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[1] A female Yakṣa, see p. 25.

[2] Veśālī, the capital city of the Licchavis, see below p. 209.

[3] *Ojohāraka*, *ojas*, "strength" and *hāraka*, from *harati*, "to take away"; the adjectival ending *-ka*, as often in this text, expresses purpose.

[4] *Ārddhā*, from root *ṛidh*, which also gives *ṛiddhi* (*iddhi*) so often used in the sense of "magic" or "psychic" power. Here it is identical in meaning with *amanuṣya*, "not human," which is the adjective used elsewhere in this passage to describe the plague which befell Veśālī. "Demonic" is a convenient, though not exact, rendering.

[5] Or, respectively, a disease confined to a restricted area or circle, *maṇḍala*, and one affecting a whole neighbourhood or district, *adhivāsa*. It is possible, of course, that the former refers to the skin disease (white-leprosy) so called. *Cf.* the *ahivātakaroga* at *Vin*. i. 78–9, *J*. 2. 79; 4. 200.

[6] This account of the Buddha's visit to Vaiśālī is found in Pali texts only in the Commentaries (*KhpA*. 160; *SnA*. 1. 278; *DhA*. 3. 436). The six experts who were called in to deal with the plague were the heads of six "heretical" schools contemporary with the Buddha. Their names in Pali are—Pūraṇa-Kassapa, Makkhali Gosāla, Kakudha (Pakudha) Kaccāna, Ajita Kesakambala, Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta, and Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta. (*D.P.N.*)

[7] *Pratipraśrabdha*, and *pratiprasrabhyati* (below) from *prati-śrabh* or *-srabh*, not in this sense in classical Sanskrit, but so used in Pali (*paṭippassambhati*, etc., see *Pali Dictionary*).

Then they sent for Maskari Gośāliputra, but when he came, he, too, could not allay the demonic plague. They sent for Kakuda Kātyāyana, but he again, when he came, was not able to allay the plague. They sent for Ajita Keśakambala, but he again, when he came, could not allay the plague. They sent for Sañjayin Veraṭṭiputra, but he again, when he came, could not allay the plague. Finally, they sent for Nirgrantha Jñātiputra, but no more could he, when he came, allay the plague.

Now some dead kinsmen of these people of Vaiśālī had been reborn among the devas, and some of these called to the people of Vaiśālī(**254**) saying, "Those who have been summoned by you are not experts; they do not speak as experts, nor are they able to allay the demonic plague that rages among the people of Vaiśālī. Now here is the Buddha, the Exalted One, who has appeared after incalculable *kalpas*, an Arhan, perfectly enlightened, who is possessed of the insight that comes from perfect knowledge, who has great magic power and great majesty, who is all-knowing and all-seeing. Whenever he stays in a meadow on the outskirts of a village, all disease and strife, all riot, calamity and trouble in that village are stayed. Summon him, and when he comes the demonic plague that rages among the people of Vaiśālī will be allayed".

> *He dwells, the fair offspring of the lotus-like womb, in Rājagṛiha's fair citadel. By him who has vanquished all the lusts, all unhappy strife is quelled.*
>
> *To whatever stricken village, town or city the Golden One comes, he there quells troubles, as a heavy shower of rain lays the dust.*
>
> *Fetch him whose beauty is radiant, whose splendour is golden, whose countenance is genial as the sun at noontide, who is sweetly redolent of virtue.*[1] *Thus will the plague be stopped.*

Now at Vaiśālī there was a certain Licchavi[2] named Tomara, a courtier who was learned and had a great following and

[1] *Varasurabhiśīlagandha.* Senart compares *kṣāntyā saurabhyasampannā*, "fragrant with calm" in *Lal. Vist.* 41. 9, and refers to the use of the same figure elsewhere in Buddhistic style.

[2] The Licchavis were "a powerful tribe of India in the time of the Buddha. They were certainly *Khattiyas*, for on that ground they claimed a share of the Buddha's relics. Their capital was Vesāli, and they formed a part of the Vajjian confederacy, being often referred to as Vajjis" (*D.P.N.*).

retinue. The people sought him and despatched him with the injunction: "Go to Rājagṛiha, where the exalted Buddha is staying. He is staying there at the invitation of Śreṇiya[1] Bimbisāra. When you come to him offer him and his company the homage of the Licchavis of Vaiśālī. Inquire after his health, well-being, ease and comfort.[2] Speak to him thus, 'Lord, among the Licchavis of Vaiśālī there has broken out a demonic plague, and many thousands have fallen on misfortune and distress. Well would it be if the Exalted One(**255**) who is beneficent and benevolent would come and bring mercy to Vaiśālī'."

Tomara obeyed the Licchavis, and with a fitting escort riding in fine carriages left the city of Vaiśālī and set out for Rājagṛiha. He reached that city, entered it, and proceeded to the (place called) Kalandakanivāpa[3] in the Bamboo Grove,[4] in order to see, approach and worship the Exalted One.

Now at that time, on the holy day, the fifteenth day, the day of the full moon, the Exalted One was preaching the dharma which is lovely in the beginning, in the middle, and in the end, to five hundred monks and several thousands of other people, and proclaiming the holy life which is entirely perfect, pure and clean. Tomara the Licchavi, after proceeding in his carriage as far as the ground allowed, alighted and set out on foot to where the Exalted One was. But he was not able to make his way through the great crowd which was gathered there and reach the Exalted One. So, throwing his robe over one shoulder, he held out his joined hands towards the Exalted One, and addressed him in verse:—

"On the pure holy fifteenth day the seers, with Śakra, lord of the Three-and-Thirty devas, gather to worship thee. By these art thou honoured, O thou who bearest what others cannot bear.[5]

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[1] Pali *Seniya*, the personal name of Bimbisāra, King of Magadha and patron of the Buddha.

[2] *Sparśavihāratā*, cf. Pali *phāsuvihāra*, "comfort." This word confirms the etymology suggested in the *Pali Dictionary* for Pali *phāsuka* as being for Sanskrit * *sparśuka*, root *spṛiś*, "to touch." Cf. *phassa* (Sanskrit *sparśa*), "what is (pleasant) to feel or touch."

[3] A place where food (*nivāpa*) or offerings were given to squirrels (*kalandaka*). See *D.P.N.* for other explanations of the name.

[4] Veṇuvana, the pleasure-ground of Bimbisāra at Rājagṛiha.

[5] Or, "who triumphest over the invincible," *asahyasāhi*.

"Shining forth thou fillest with thy radiance the farthest ways. Thou dost refresh all this multitude with thy teaching of the dharma as the great cloud refreshes the earth with water.

"When[1] they hear thy words, sweet as pure[2] honey, O great seer, and bear them in mind, they hold out their joined hands in adoration and praise, saying,(256) *'We come to thy refuge, O thou who bearest what others cannot bear.' And they receive thy acceptance and welcome.*

"Here, Lord, am I with the Tomaras[3] who full of faith come to thy refuge, and who, thus zealous for the teaching of the Sugata, will make an end of birth and death."

When these verses were concluded the great crowd made way, and Tomara the Licchavi went up to the Exalted One, bowed at his feet, and said to him, "Lord, the Licchavis of Vaiśālī, young and old, the people within Vaiśālī and those without, salute the Exalted One and his disciples. They inquire after his ease and comfort, and bid us say, 'In Vaiśālī, Lord, a demonic plague has broken out, and many thousands have fallen on misfortune and distress. The Exalted One is merciful and compassionate towards the worlds of devas and men. Well would it be if the Exalted One would come to Vaiśālī and bring mercy to its people'."

The Exalted One replied, "O Tomara, the Tathāgata is staying here by invitation of king Śreṇiya Bimbisāra. Go and ask his permission."[4]

Tomara the Licchavi bowed at the feet of the Exalted One, and after saluting him and his disciples three times from the right, he set out for Rājagṛiha. There he went to king Śreṇiya Bimbisāra, and, after greeting him well and truly, said, "Your majesty, in Vaiśālī a demonic plague has broken out, and

[1] This pada is printed as part of the preceding stanza, but in sense it belongs to the next, and is so placed in the translation.

[2] *Anelika*, Pali *aneḷaka*, Buddhist Sanskrit *aneḍaka* (*e.g.* p. 339 of this text), negative from Pali *eḷam*, for Sanskrit *enas*, "fault, impurity."

[3] Tomara would seem, therefore, to be a family or clan name.

[4] Cf. the rule according to which monks, if they have accepted an invitation to dine or stay somewhere, must not accept one elsewhere. See, *e.g.*, *V*. 4. 77, *kathaṃ hi nāma bhikkhū aññatra nimantitā aññatra bhuñjissanti*, "For how can monks who have been invited to one place eat at another?" Cf. also *V*. 2. 153; 3. 10-11; 4. 81. (The translator owes these references to Miss I. B. Horner.)

many thousands are fallen on misfortune and distress. Six experts came in answer to our summons, namely, Kāśyapa Pūraṇa, Maskarin Gośālin, Ajita Keśakambalin, Kakuda Kātyāyana(257), Sañjayin Veraṭṭikaputra, and Nirgrantha Jñātiputra. But the demonic plague among the people of Vaiśālī was not allayed by their coming.

"Then, your majesty, the devas announced to the Licchavis: 'Here is this Buddha, the Exalted One, who after an incalculable *kalpa* has appeared in the worlds of devas and men with the majesty of dharma. He is a shelter, a protection, a refuge, and a relief for the worlds of devas and men, a deva above all devas, a teacher of devas and men, of Nāgas, of Asuras, of Yakṣas, of Rākṣasas, of Piśācas, and of Kumbhāṇḍas.[1] Whenever he comes to a field bordering a village every disastrous[2] plague is checked by the influence of the Buddha, the dharma and the Sangha. Fetch him, and when he comes the demonic plague among the people of Vaiśālī will be allayed.' Well would it be, your majesty, if you granted permission to the Exalted One to go to Vaiśālī and bring mercy."

Thus addressed, King Śreṇiya Bimbisāra said to Tomara the Licchavi, "If, O son of Vasiṣṭha, the Licchavis of Vaiśālī will march out in procession as far as the boundary of their own territory to meet the Exalted One on his way from Rājagṛiha to Vaiśālī, just as I shall escort him as far as the boundary of mine, then I shall allow the Exalted One to go from Rājagṛiha to Vaiśālī."

Then Tomara the Licchavi, in obedience to King Śreṇiya Bimbisāra, sent messengers to the assembly at Vaiśālī to report: "O sons of Vasiṣṭha, thus does King Śreṇiya Bimbisāra say to Tomara the Licchavi." These messengers in obedience to Tomara the Licchavi went to Vaiśālī and reported to the assembled Licchavis: "Thus, O sons of Vasiṣṭha, does King Śreṇiya Bimbisāra answer Tomara the Licchavi: 'If the Licchavis of Vaiśālī will march out in procession as far as the boundary of their territory to meet the Exalted One on

[1] A class of demons. "They had huge stomachs, and their genital organs were as big as pots, hence their name" (*D.P.N.*).

[2] Literally (a plague) "the ill-luck of which was black-eared" *kalikālakarṇī*. Cf. Pali *sakuṇa kālakaṇṇi*, "a bird of ill-omen." "Disastrous," although constituting a change of metaphor, is used here in its usual metaphorical sense.

his way from Rājagṛiha to Vaiśālī, just as I shall escort him as far as the boundary of mine, then I shall allow the Exalted One to go from Rājagṛiha to Vaiśālī '."

When this had been said, the Licchavis of Vaiśālī replied to the messengers, "Thus, O sons of Vasiṣṭha, must King Śreṇiya Bimbisāra be told on behalf of the Licchavis: 'Your majesty, the Licchavis of Vaiśālī(258) will march out as far as the boundary of their territory to meet the Exalted One '."

The messengers in obedience to the assembly of the Licchavis returned to Rājagṛiha and reported to Tomara. And Tomara the Licchavi, complying with what the messengers said, went to King Śreṇiya Bimbisāra and said to him, "Your majesty, the Licchavis of Vaiśālī will march out to meet the Exalted One. If it please you, allow the Exalted One to go to Vaiśālī and bring mercy."

King Śreṇiya Bimbisāra then allowed the Exalted One to go to Vaiśālī, and his ministers were bidden to prepare carefully the road from Rājagṛiha to the banks of the Ganges and have it made like a chequer-board, level and even, like the palm of the hand, with an awning stretched over it, carpeted with bright cloth, draped with festoons of fine cloth, well-scented, sprinkled and swept, and strewn with flowers. "Make," said he, "a pontoon bridge over which the Exalted One and his disciples shall cross the Ganges on their way to Vaiśālī. At intervals of half a *yojana* have tents provided with a supply of food and drink, beds and every amenity for the Exalted One and his disciples, so that he and his monks may travel in comfort from Rājagṛiha to Vaiśālī."

> *The desires of devas are fulfilled by the thought of their minds; those of kings by the word of command; those of rich men are fulfilled without delay, and those of the poor by their own exertions.*[1]

So the king commanded, and his ministers prepared everything in accordance with his command.

The Exalted One set forth with his company of monks. King Śreṇiya Bimbisāra, with his chariots and troops, his queen, his son, his ministers and his court, carrying five

[1] This couplet which, as Senart points out, is evidently proverbial, is very elliptical, and to make its citation apposite here, the words "the desires of . . . are fulfilled" have had to be supplied in translating.

hundred royal sunshades girt with festoons of fine cloth, with flags and banners flying, in great royal pomp, magnificence and splendour escorted the Exalted One on his way to Vaiśālī, halting at intervals of half a *yojana*, until he came to the boundary of his domain on the banks of the river Ganges.

The Licchavis of Vaiśālī heard in what manner(259) King Śreṇiya Bimbisāra was escorting the Exalted One on his way from Rājagṛiha to Vaiśālī. And when they had heard they in turn carefully prepared the road in their own domain from Vaiśālī to the banks of the Ganges, and had it made even and level like a chequer-board, like the palm of the hand, sprinkled and swept, strewn with garlands of flowers, with an awning stretched over it, carpeted with bright cloth, draped with festoons of fine cloth, and well-scented. Here and there they placed mimes, dancers, athletes,[1] wrestlers and musicians. At intervals of half a *yojana* they made provision of tents, with a supply of couches, drink and food for the Exalted One and his company of disciples. Within Vaiśālī they yoked eighty-four thousand chariots, nay, twice eighty-four thousand chariots, which were beflagged and merrily rattling, garlanded with pretty flowers, and carrying sunshades, banners and pennants. Having each mounted his own fine chariot with a fragrant garland in his hand, in great regal pomp and magnificence, and to the accompaniment of the great multitude's concerted roar of cries and bravos, the sound of drums, tabours, cymbals, and trumpets, they went forth from the city of Vaiśālī as far as the river Ganges to meet the Exalted One and to do him honour.

Now this was the manner of their array. There were Licchavis with dark-blue horses and chariots,[2] dark-blue reins and whips and staves, dark-blue garments, decorations, turbans and sunshades, dark-blue insignia[3] of swords, jewels, shoes and fans.

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[1] *Ṛillaka*, see p. 187.

[2] At *D.* 2. 96 and *V.* 1. 231, these different colours are assigned also to different groups or clans (?) of the Licchavis themselves. The Commentary on the latter passage (*VA.* 1096–7) says that these were not their natural colours but that they were smeared on them—*tattha na tesaṃ pakativaṇṇā nīlā, nīlavilepanānaṃ vicittatāvasen'* (v.l. *vilittigattavasen'*) *etaṃ vuttaṃ*.

[3] *Vyañjanā*, called *kakudā* below, where they are said to be five in number. Cf. the five as given at *J.* 5. 264—*vālavījanī* (fan), *uṇhīsa* (diadem or turban), *chatta* (canopy or sunshade), *pādukā* (shoes), *khagga* (sword). See *Pali Dictionary s.v. kakudha*. The two lists vary slightly, and for *vālavījanī* the *Mahāvastu* has simply *vāla*, " horse-hair," etc.

This has been described in verse[1] :—

Dark-blue horses and chariots, dark-blue reins, whips, and turbans ; five dark-blue insignia, and dark-blue garments and decorations.

There were Licchavis with yellow horses and chariots, yellow reins, whips and staves, yellow garments, decorations, turbans and sunshades, yellow swords, jewels and shoes.

This has been described in verse :—

(260) *Yellow horses and chariots, yellow reins, whips and turbans ; five yellow insignia, yellow garments and decorations.*

There were Licchavis with crimson horses and chariots, crimson whips and staves, crimson garments and decorations, crimson turbans and sunshades, crimson insignia of jewels, shoes and fans.

This has been described in verse :—

Crimson horses and chariots, crimson reins, whips and staves, five crimson insignia, and crimson garments and decorations.

There were Licchavis with red horses and chariots, red whips and staves, red garments and decorations, red turbans and sunshades, and red insignia of swords, jewels, shoes and fans.

This has been described in verse :—

Red horses and chariots, red reins, whips and staves, five red insignia, and red garments and decorations.

There were Licchavis with white horses and chariots, white whips and staves, white garments and decorations, white swords and white insignia of jewels, shoes and fans.

This has been described in verse :—

White horses and chariots, white reins, whips and staves, five white insignia, and white garments and decorations.

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[1] The usual *tatredamiti ucyate*, " here it is thus said," introducing a redaction in verse, which is probably traditional and the basis of the preceding prose account.

There were Licchavis with tawny horses and chariots, tawny reins, whips and staves, tawny garments (261) and decorations, tawny turbans and sunshades, tawny swords, and tawny insignia of jewels, shoes and fans.

This has been described in verse :—

Tawny horses and chariots, tawny reins, whips and staves,
five tawny insignia, and tawny garments and decorations.

There were Licchavis with mottled[1] horses and chariots, mottled reins, whips and staves, mottled garments and decorations, mottled turbans, sunshades and swords and mottled insignia of jewels, shoes and fans.

This has been described in verse :—

Mottled horses and chariots, mottled reins, whips and staves,
five mottled insignia, and mottled garments and decorations.

There were Licchavis with golden sunshades mounted on elephants caparisoned in varied adornments. There were Licchavis in golden palanquins decked out with jewels of all kinds, in beflagged golden chariots moving with a merry sound and carrying arrows and axes, sunshades, banners and streamers. In such pomp, array, and circumstance, with such regal power, magnificence and splendour did the Licchavis of Vaiśālī, accompanied by Gośṛingī[2] and Āmrapālikā[3] and the people generally, go forth with twice eighty-four thousand carriages as far as the banks of the Ganges to meet the Exalted One.

When the Exalted One, on the other bank of the Ganges, had instructed, gladdened, and thrilled King Śreṇiya Bimbisāra and brāhmans from Magadha with talk about dharma, and had established eighty-four thousand brāhmans of Magadha in the comprehension of it, he looked towards the Licchavis of Vaiśālī(262) and addressed his monks.

"Monks," said he, "you did not see the devas of Trāyastriṃśa when of yore they set out from their city of Sudarśana

[1] *Vyāyukta*, an unknown word, of doubtful meaning. The translation follows Senart's suggestion that the word may mean "de couleurs variées." This meaning is, etymologically, not impossible, if, that is, the word is from *vi* (negative) + *āyukta*, "joined, yoked," *i.e.* "not uniform or homogeneous" (in colour).

[2] Otherwise unknown.

[3] Pali *Ambapālī* or *Ambapālikā*, a celebrated courtesan of *Vaiśālī*.

to their pleasure-garden. So now look at the Licchavis of Vaiśālī. And why? Because, monks, it was with just such magnificence as theirs that the Trāyastriṃśa devas marched forth from the city of Sudarśana to their pleasure-garden.

> *Kinsmen who dwell in peace with one another enjoy prosperous and sound government. And so the Master, when he was among the Licchavis, compared them to the devas.*[1] *Though they were not seen*[2] *on that past occasion, such was the array of the Trāyastriṃśa devas when they came to the pleasaunce as is now the magnificence of the Licchavis.*
>
> *Carrying golden sunshades, some on elephants, others in golden palanquins, and others in golden chariots, the Licchavis march out to the meeting.*
>
> *All gather together with their kinsmen, young, middle-aged and old, decked out in crimson garments, and in glittering array march out to meet the Exalted One.*

By this time pontoon bridges had been thrown across the river Ganges, by King Śreṇiya Bimbisāra, by those from within Vaiśālī(**263**), by those from without, and by the Nāgas of the Ganges, the Kambalas and the Aśvataras[3] (each party saying), "The Exalted One will cross by ours."

Gośṛingī, by the mouth of a parrot, invited the Exalted One and his company of disciples to a meal on the morrow. The Exalted One silently intimated his consent, and through the Buddha's power the parrot understood the Exalted One's silent intimation of his consent. The bird bowed at the feet of the Exalted One and took leave of him and his company of disciples after saluting them from the right. It then returned to the lady Gośṛingī and said to her, "In your name I invited the Tathāgata, the Arhan, the perfect Buddha and his company

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[1] There is a similar comparison between the Licchavis and the Trāyastriṃśa devas at *D.* 2. 96.

[2] *Sc.* "by the monks." But the *yehi* in *yehi na driṣṭapurvā* can not be instrumental, but must rather be analysed into *ye hi*, the relative being anticipatory of the *teṣam* referring to the devas two *pādas* below. Even for the *Mahāvastu* this is an intricate use of the relative, and it looks very much as though the words *yehi na driṣṭapurvā* are due to a misunderstanding of the traditional text as we have it, *e.g.*, in *V.* 1. 232, *yehi bhikkhave bhikkhūhi devā Tāvatiṃsā adiṭṭhapubbā, oloketha bhikkhave Licchaviparisam,* "You, monks, by whom the Tāvatiṃsa were not formerly seen, look on the concourse of the Licchavis."

[3] Two tribes of Nāgas both mentioned as living at the foot of Mount Sineru.

of disciples to a meal on the morrow, and he silently accepted."

The Exalted One stepped on to a bridge of boats. King Śreṇiya Bimbisāra saw the Exalted One on his bridge. Those from within Vaiśālī saw the Exalted One and his company of disciples on theirs; those from without Vaiśālī saw them on theirs, and the Kambalas and Aśvataras, the great Nāgas of the Ganges, saw them crossing by their bridge.

THE SUNSHADES

When the Kambalas and the Aśvataras of the Ganges saw the five hundred sunshades of King Śreṇiya Bimbisāra and the five hundred sunshades of the people of Vaiśālī, they too held up[1] five hundred sunshades for the Exalted One as he crossed the river. The Yakṣas also held up five hundred sunshades, as did the Cāturmahārājika devas. An exquisite sunshade was held up by the deva Sunirmita. Five hundred sunshades were held up by the Paranirmitavaśavartin devas, five hundred by the Four Great Kings and five hundred by the Trāyastriṃśa devas. A sunshade was held up by Śakra, lord of the devas, by the deva Suyāma, and five hundred sunshades by the Tuṣita devas. The deva Santuṣita held up an exquisite sunshade. Five hundred sunshades were held up by the devas of Brahmā's world, and an exquisite one by Great Brahmā himself. (264) The Śuddhāvāsa devas held up five hundred sunshades for the Exalted One as he crossed the Ganges, and a Maheśvara[2] deva held up one. By whom could these thousands of sunshades carried by devas and men for the Exalted One be exceeded?

Scions of kings faithful in the daily performance of religious duties deserve the sunshade. He deserves it, too, this illustrious valiant man.[3]

Those brave men deserve it who, victorious over foreign foes, wield invincible sovereignty. . . .[4]

[1] Literally "held out," *pragṛhita.*

[2] See note p. 155.

[3] There is a lacuna here of a noun or nouns qualified by, or forming part of, a compound ending in *sampannā.*

[4] *I.e.*, some particular king present to the mind of the author of these verses, or a king in general. Senart takes the reference to be to the Buddha, but he is said below to be deserving of hundreds of sunshades.

How then does not the Exalted One deserve hundreds seeing that he has vanquished all the lusts so that none remains, and vanquished Namuci,[1] *too, and his hosts?*

Carrying the five hundred sunshades which shone like tremulous stars, glittered like stars, and were of matchless brilliance, with handles bejewelled with beryl,

King Bimbisāra followed behind the Daśabala. And the Exalted One with his host went on towards the land of the Vajjis.[2]

Stepping on the bridge of boats the Exalted One crossed the water, and there on the other side were throngs of Licchavis holding up five hundred sunshades.

Then when they saw the mighty lord, the Nāgas who have numerous[3] *dwelling-places in the mountains and those whose home is the Ganges held up five hundred sunshades.*

Powerful and brilliant Yakṣas who wander the paths of earth and have numerous abodes therein, and Asuras, too, joyfully held up five hundred sunshades.

There, also, rejoicing devas held up five hundred sunshades with flowing garlands, and having the fair beauty of the full moon,

(265) *While the Four Guardians of the world, with joyful hearts and free of pride and conceit, laid the dust raised by the dancers, and held up five hundred sunshades for one who is the equal of him who bears the earth.*[4]

And he, the lord of the Three-and-Thirty devas, held up for the foremost in all the world[5] *a sunshade that was a network of gold and jewels with a well-wrought garland of red flowers.*

Suyāma,[6] *too, came up to the lord of the Yāmas, who is*

[1] *I.e. Māra.* See p. 165.

[2] The text has Vaji, the popular form of the Sanskrit *Vṛiji*, Pali *Vajji*. For the name Vajjis used to denote the Licchavis, see p. 209.

[3] *Mahābala.* Senart cites the *Mahāvyutpatti* for this use of the word. See Böhtlingk and Roth *s.v.*

[4] *Dharaṇidhara* for *dharaṇīdhara*, "bearing the earth," epithet of fabled elephants, also of Śeṣa, Viṣṇu, Kṛiṣṇa, and Śiva.

[5] *Jagāgrasya*, is a doubtful conjecture of Senart's.

[6] Reading *(e)va Suyāma* for *Vasuyāmā*. There does not seem to be any mention of Vasuyāma devas elsewhere, although Senart lists the word Vasuyāma as a proper name in his index. The verb *dhārayi*, also, implies a singular subject. With this emendation the idea seems to be that Suyāma, himself the lord of the Yāma devas (see p. 165) comes to the Buddha as to an overlord.

adored by Yama, Varuṇa and Nāga, and held up a sunshade for him who moves with the speed of a storm-cloud,[1] *a sunshade yellow like the autumn rain-cloud.*

A dweller in Tuṣita, again, who was rid of delusion, assumed the grossness of corporeal form[2] *and came and devotedly held up a sunshade for the Exalted One.*

The deva Sunirmita held up a sunshade with its handle well-fashioned of beryl, its ten hundred ribs of gleaming coral, and its covering of flowers in bloom.

A Paranirmitavaśavartin deva fashioned for him who is extolled in the three worlds a sunshade covered with a weight of gold, with hanging garlands of clustered gems.

With devoted mind Brahmā held up a sunshade like the moon for him whose heart is as clear as the path of the wind, for the crusher of his opponents.

A Maheśvara[3] *deva, again, held up for him who fully deserved it a sunshade made of the seven precious substances, adorned with festoons of celestial flowers.*

Thus was this great throng of Kāmāvacara devas[4] *assembled by their great lord,*[5] *the ruler of Suras, to do homage to him whose strength is matchless.*

(266) The Exalted One conjured[6] up as many Buddhas as there were sunshades. They who held the sunshades did not see one another's Buddha, and each thought, "Under my sunshade there stands the saviour, the Sugata, the standard-bearer." Through the Buddha's power devas and men beheld the abode of the highest of the devas.

Then the Exalted One, the moon-like man, conjured up by magic these many Buddhas. The Exalted One made them appear, but the crowd did not see one another's Buddha.

In the aerial abodes of the highest devas the Buddhas of the ten powers make the serene heaven bright as a sacrificial post glittering with jewels.[7]

[1] *Ghanapavanagati.* Another doubtful reading.
[2] *Samvartitakharasamavapu.* Otherwise these devas would be invisible.
[3] Or *Maheśvara* simply. See note p. 155.
[4] See p. 126.
[5] Or *Maheśvara.* Here apparently the proper name of the lord of the Suras.
[6] Literally "fashioned" or "created," *nirmita.*
[7] This description of the phantom Buddhas as appearing in the sky seems to be an interpolation here, for the rest of the scene is on the Ganges.

All are of golden colour, all endowed with the thirty-two marks of excellence, all are like a mass of gold, all move like stately elephants.

All are gracious in their ways, and their web of radiance is resplendent; all possess infinite virtue, all are creators of joy.

Devas and men, seeing the sky made resplendent by the Daśabalas, are greatly stirred by elation and utter shouts of Ha! Ha!

They move on in a vibrant loud-murmuring throng, and from the sky they release a cloud of fragrant powdery dust.

When they saw this magical miracle of the creation of Buddhas by the Exalted One, the devas paid him exceeding great homage. They showered on and over the Exalted One flowers of the coral-tree, of the great coral-tree, of the *karkārava*,[1] of the great *karkārava*, of the *rocamāna*(267) of the great *rocamāna*, of the *bhīṣma*, of the great *bhīṣma*, of the *samantagandha*, of the great *samantagandha*, and of the *pāriyātraka*,[2] flowers of gold and silver, powder of the sandal-wood tree, of the aloe-wood tree, and of the *keśara*. All around for six *yojanas* and to the depth of a man's knees there is a flood of celestial sweet-smelling powder.

The monks asked the Exalted One, "What is this majesty, lord, for which these thousands of sunshades are held up by devas, Nāgas and kings? Is it the majesty of deva, or of Nāga or of Yakṣa?" The Exalted One replied, "Monks, this majesty appertains to the Tathāgata as a result of his righteousness in former lives. If the Tathāgata in the course of his many lives were not to awaken to the supreme perfect enlightenment, he would rule as many kingdoms of a universal king as there are sunshades here for the Exalted One. But, as it is, for the Tathāgata who has perfect virtue through the extinction of sin there will be utter passing away."

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[1] Cf. *karkāru*, "a species of gourd," *Beninkasa cerifera*; Pali *kakkāru*, the same, but also "a heavenly flower" at *J*. 3. 87, 88.

[2] The coral-tree *Erythmica Indica*, a tree in Indra's heaven. Senart, following one MS., prefers the form *pāriyātra(ka)* to *pāripātra*, and regards the Sanskrit form *pārijāta* as "le reflet prâcritisant" of the former. The Pali form of the name is *pāricchattaka*, due to the popular etymology of *pari* + *chatta*, "shading all round." For other trees in Indra's heaven see pp. 27, 118.

Then the Exalted One said to the venerable Vāgīśa,[1] "Let there come to your mind, Vāgīśa, the recollection of a former association of yours with the Tathāgata."

"So be it, lord," replied the venerable Vāgīśa, and in obedience to the Exalted One he on that occasion recited these verses :—

"Once upon a time there was a Master, a brāhman who had nothing to fear, being immune from rebirth, a brāhman perfected in the holy life.

"Seeing men in misery and consigned to states of wretchedness, he set rolling the wheel of dharma, and shed abroad an incomparable light.

"When he had set rolling the wheel of dharma and shed abroad that incomparable light, he passed utterly away, a perfect Buddha, a great seer, with all possibility of rebirth extinct.

"For him his disciples who had naught to fear and his most advanced and well-trained students erected a tope to perpetuate his fame.

"Noble, priest and commoner paid homage to the great seer(**268**) *foregathering there in motley garlands for dance and music and song.*

"And then the brāhman who was the wise parent of the Buddha thought, 'What now if I were to make a canopy, fair and white, and studded with gems?'

"When he had raised this spotless canopy over the lofty tope, the father shed tears and paid homage to his son.

"Having performed this lovely deed in praise of the Buddha, the brāhman died, as is the lot of those that are born.

"As a result of that act, during eighty kalpas *of the world's dissolution and evolution he experienced no rebirth into evil states. Such was the fruit that canopy bore.*

"When he was reborn among men, he then ruled in righteousness as a universal king on earth, triumphant and mighty.

"He was a noble, possessing divers domains and a large retinue. He was honoured with a white sunshade which ensured his comfort.

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[1] See note p. 129.

"When he passed hence he was reborn in the deva-world, as the foremost of devas, worshipped by the body of the devas.

"Thus worshipped by the throng of devas and clothed in the garb of sovereignty,[1] *he enjoyed while living there also the reward for the white canopy.*

"Supreme of devas was he, and supreme of men, universally supreme of devas and men.

"Leaving that existence wherein he was supreme of devas and men, he passed into his last existence(269), *and became a perfect Buddha, a seer, with the possibility of rebirth extinct.*

"It was he who discovered the way that leads to the cessation of ill, and the winning of which makes an end of suffering.

"All the Buddhas of the past acknowledge[2] *him to be the valiant and the glorious one; all those who like him were virtuous and wise acknowledge him to be the supreme of Buddhas.*

"All the Buddhas who have been here[3] *on earth from time to time without a doubt pass on to the state of bliss, thereby winning the reward of their own karma.*

"Thou wert that wise brāhman, and I was thy pupil,[4] *I who have been urged by thee, O valiant one, to call to mind a previous birth."*

"Verily, so was it as you say, Vāgīśa. I was the brāhman then, and you, friend, my pupil,

"You, who have been urged by me to call to mind a previous birth. Therefore men should offer banner and flag and white canopy.

"They should set railings round the topes and put thereon the mark of the out-spread hand.[5] *Well does this conduce to the conferring of rich merit.*

"This and whatever other honour is paid to the Buddha, all becomes productive, fruitful, and leading to immortality.

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[1] *Aiśvaryakambalasthita*; but the reading is doubtful.

[2] Some verb like *abhijānanti* must be supplied in this stanza. The reading in parts is not above suspicion.

[3] Following Senart's emendation *ye ca tahiṃ* for *ye ca te hi*.

[4] *Antevāsin*, see note p. 22.

[5] *Pañcāngulāni*, Pali *pañcangulika* or *°aka*, *i.e.* an apotropaic mark as seen, for example, on the Bharhut tope. (See *Pali Dictionary* for references.)

"For I know of no worship here on earth equal to this, much less superior to it. I know of none other by worshipping whom you will attain greater merit.

"If a man were to worship here on earth all the devas without ceasing(**270**) *and make them all the most costly offerings, he would not gain equal blessings.*

"It is no easier to win sight of the Buddhas, who are so great in glory, in mercy, in compassion and in beneficence, than it is to see the flower of the glomerous fig-tree.[1]

"Thus those who laud me for my concentration, my virtue, my wisdom, my attainment, my withdrawal from the world, for my exertion, my nobility of birth, and for my past, all become mighty and meritorious, command obedience[2] in all their lives, and become renowned among men.

"When a man has thus developed the roots of goodness, this prison-house of body will not trouble him much afterwards.

"Therefore one should perform meritorious deeds, thus laying up a store for the life beyond. For meritorious deeds are a sure foundation for men in the life beyond."

When the Exalted One had crossed the Ganges he came to the frontiers of Vaiśālī and caused the demons of the plague to flee. But wicked Māra filled with living things the way which had been garnished with flowers and swept and prepared by the Licchavis for the progress of the Exalted One. He also conjured up a beggar named Kuṇḍala, who said to the Buddha as he went along this way, "Turn back."

"The ground is covered with many creatures, small, large, and medium-sized. When the Buddha walks over these creatures lying on the ground, his tread will be the cause of suffering."

(**271**)The Exalted One replied :—

"The touch of the Tathāgatas is as gentle as that of the breezes that waft lightly down from the sky. The touch of the bodies of the supreme Buddhas, the Tathāgatas, inflicts no harm.[3]

[1] See p. 190.

[2] *Ādeyavacanā*, cf. Pali *vacanam anādiyitvā*, "not paying attention to his word." *PvA*. 212.

[3] Literally "no harm arises because of his body" (*śarīramāgamya*). For *āgamya* see note p. 198.

"The Exalted One can walk over beings without striking against them. He inspires them with no fear nor causes them harm. The Exalted One makes the green fields bear plenteous crops for all creatures."

When the Exalted One and his company of disciples came near, the Licchavis asked him, "In whose house will it be the Exalted One's pleasure to stay on the morrow? Will it be the house of one of the Vaiśālakas within the city or of one of those without?" The Exalted One replied, "O sons of Vasiṣṭha, the Tathāgata will not deign to stay with any of the Vaiśālakas, whether those within or those without."

A parrot able to talk like a man had been sent by Gośṛingī to the other bank of the Ganges, and the bird in Gośṛingī's name, had invited the Exalted One and his company of disciples to partake of a meal on the morrow. And the Tathāgata had accepted.

Then the Licchavis, the Vaiśālakas from within the city, the twice eighty-four thousand kings, and the rest of the great crowd, the wealthy nobles and householders, were stricken with amazement and wondered how a parrot could talk. The Exalted One replied, "What marvel is that Gośṛingī's parrot talks with a human voice? O sons of Vasiṣṭha, this supremacy of the parrot was adjudged to it by other birds."

THE THREE BIRDS

Once upon a time,[1] long ago, O sons of Vasiṣṭha, in the city of Benares in the province of Kāśi, there ruled a king named Brahmadatta,[2] who was virtuous, mighty, powerful, wealthy and possessing a great army. His kingdom was prosperous, flourishing and peaceful, had plenty of food, and was well and thickly peopled(**272**) with happy subjects. Violence and riot had ceased, robbers were held in check, and commerce thrived.

He had a numerous harem, but no son. And so the king pondered on how he could have a son. From his ministers

[1] This story closely resembles *Jātaka* 521.

[2] Several kings of this name are mentioned, and it was probably a dynastic name.

he heard that in a hermitage on the slopes of the Himalayas there dwelt seers who were powerful, possessed the five super-knowledges and had mastered the four meditations. The king should consult these as to how he could have a son. "These powerful seers," said the ministers, "will reveal to his majesty how he may have a son."

Then the king, with his women-folk, his daughters, his ministers and his army set out for the hermitage of these seers. On the way he with his women and his army made a halt. There he saw three birds flying out of the hollow trunk of a cotton-wood tree,[1] namely, a female owl, a female *śārika,*[2] and a female parrot. When he saw this, the king was seized with curiosity, and he ordered a man to go and see what there might be in the hollow trunk of the tree. The man climbed up the tree, looked, and saw three eggs. He called out, "Sire, I see three eggs." The king replied, "Bring them down wrapped up one by one in a fold of your dress so that they do not break." The man wrapped them up one by one in a fold of his dress and brought them down unbroken.

The king questioned his ministers, "Whose eggs are these?" But they replied, "The fowlers had better be asked; this is their province." The fowlers were summoned and the king questioned them saying, "Ho there! fellows, find out whose eggs these are." Now the fowlers were experienced in such a matter, and knew all birds' eggs, and what every bird was like. So they replied, "Your majesty, of these three eggs the first is an owl's, the second a *śārikā's* and the third a parrot's."

The king then asked, "Can these eggs be hatched?" And the fowlers replied, "They can, your majesty, since they were brought down (**273**) without being damaged." The king asked, "What treatment should be given these eggs in order that, when so treated, they be successfully hatched?" "Your majesty," said they, "a piece of cotton cloth must be cut and arranged to hold them on all sides. Then when the eggs have been steeped in honey and ghee they must be placed on it, and a piece of cotton cloth over them will cover them like a broody hen."

The eggs were laid down as the fowlers had directed, and

[1] *Sāmbalī*, Sanskrit *śālmali*. Cf. Pali *simbali*.
[2] The maynah bird, Pali *sālikā*, or *sāliyā*.

by and by the king reached the hermitage of the seers. He halted his army on one side, while he himself with his women went on to the hermitage. When the seers saw the king they rose up to meet him, as was the custom of seers. "Hail and welcome, O great king," said they, "let his majesty seat himself on this couch." The king and his women having bowed at the feet of the seers sat down.

Now the eldest of the seers acted as chief of the household, and he, having saluted the king, asked him, "What is your majesty's business with the seers?" The king replied, "I have a numerous harem, but none of the women has borne me a son. I have no son, so what I desire is that it be shown me how I may have a son."

The eldest of the seers said, "Your majesty, you remember those three eggs back there which were carried down from the hollow trunk of the cotton-wood tree. Keep them wrapped up. From these will issue sons for you." The king was amazed at the great gifts of the seers, in that, though living far away in this hermitage, they knew of those three eggs back there which he had caused to be brought down from the hollow trunk of the cotton-wood tree.

After bowing at the feet of the seers the king set out again for Benares, which he duly reached. In course of time all those three eggs were hatched.(**274**) From the first of them was hatched an owl chicken, from the second a *śārika* chicken, and from the third a parrot chicken. By the king's command these chickens were brought up and reared. And when they were grown up all three were intelligent, sagacious, and gifted with human speech, and used to talk with one another in the language of men. King Brahmadatta, knowing the force of their sagacity, asked them one by one concerning the duty[1] of a king. And the birds explained this as they understood it to be. When he had heard the expositions of all the three, King Brahmadatta was delighted.

> *In Benares there was a glorious king, Brahmadatta.*
> *This king had three sons who were clever birds.*
> *The first was an owl, the second a* śārika, *the third a parrot,*
> *all three of them naturally clever.*

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[1] *Dharma*. *Kṛitya* is also used in the following verses.

Knowing the force of their sagacity, the king, the lord of men, rejoiced, and said, "I'll ask them all one by one and privily concerning the duties of a king.

"I'll begin by asking the owl. 'Greetings to you, bird. What, my son, do you consider is the duty of one who rules a kingdom?'"

The owl replied :—

"At long last my father asks me about the duties of a king. Come then, I'll tell you, and do you listen with attentive mind.

"A king should not fall into the power of wrath. Rather let him curb his anger, for, O king, neither the interests nor the duty of a man thrive when he is angry.

"But when a king is not subject to wrath, his interests, his duty and his wisdom always thrive. Hence should he restrain his anger.

(275)*"When a dispute arises, he should pay equal attention to both parties to it, and hear the arguments of each and decide according to what is right.*

"He should not, O king, act out of favouritism, hatred, fear or folly. He should hear the arguments of each side and act according to what is right.

"He will not go to ruin, for the intelligent man knows how to look after his interests,[1] *so that, preserving his good name, he follows the road to heaven, O king.*

"Thus, O king, shun what is unjust and rule in accordance with a king's duty. So will you, mighty lord, pass thither.

"Do not delight overmuch in the excitement of sensual pleasures, for his enemy overcomes him who is drunk with pleasures.

"A king should administer all the affairs of his city and his provinces as well in righteousness.

"He should uphold his sovereignty in city and province by his good qualities, by the giving of largesse, and by performing his duties.

"Then he should maintain his influence with his court

[1] Literally "for he is intelligent in that he does what profits him" *arthakāraṇāt*. Senart plausibly suggests *°kāriṇo*—"for the intelligent man does what profits him."

by performing his duty.[1] *He should be one whose subjects, because of his bounty, cannot be alienated from him.*

"Know of everybody, O king, whether he is loyal or disloyal, in the army, among your servants, in the city and in the provinces.

"While keeping an eye on state affairs, a king should dispense gladness to all. He should keep all from doing violence, and show that it is righteousness that brings reward.

"As in the days of former kings large bodies of immigrants came together to be admitted into the realm, so do you admit them, O king.

"O lord of men, always show favour to the poor and protect the rich(276) *who are your subjects.*

"A king who is fond of gambling with his wealth and loves the wives of others, becomes hateful to his subjects, and soon loses his life.

"A king, on the other hand, who is not covetous, but is prudent, and is always indifferent to the wives of others, becomes dear to his subjects, and, my father, long does he live.

"O king, do not foster hostility towards neighbouring kings. Whosoever hates, will be repaid with hatred by his foes.

"Cultivate ties of friendship with neighbouring kings, O mighty lord, for other peoples honour kings who are steadfast in friendship.

"Do not, O king, talk at great length[2] *on all sorts of topics, but utter your judgments at the appropriate time and make them bear on the point at issue.*

"Keep your counsel secret, and always conceal it, O king. For princes who reveal their counsel come to great harm.

"But a king who keeps his counsel secret wins great glory. He falls not into the power of his enemy, nor does he have any regrets afterwards.

"Those who are not confused in their judgment nor loose of talk, but are full of purposefulness, do not excite the anger of enemies, as the scorpions excited that of the snakes.[3]

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[1] *Vaṭṭa*, explained by Senart as the Pali orthography of *vṛitta*. If so, perhaps "propriety" is a better translation than "duty."

[2] Literally "do not be one whose utterance is spread out" *prakīrṇoccārano*." Cf. *avikīrṇavācā*, "loose of talk," immediately below, and the English "to spread oneself."

[3] An obscure reference. The enmity of the mongoose or Indian ichneumon and the snake is, of course, a commonplace of Indian fable, e.g. *Hitopadeśa* IV, fable 5, and *Pañcatantra*, I. fable 20.

"As for the man who keeps all relating to his counsel secret, his foe,(277) *being rid of fear, becomes like one of his subjects.*

"Always, O king, give your protection to those who live justly. For the wheel of power turns in dependence on the wheel of justice.[1]

"By the power of those who live righteously, all ills are assuaged. The devas send rain in season, and then the corn-crops grow.

"It is thus, O king, that the deeds done by virtuous men are a source of blessing in this world and of happiness in the world beyond.

"A king should therefore see to it that his acts are just. For, O king, your good is also that of your kingdom.

"Be circumspect in all things, O lord of men, and diligent in the care of your treasury and granary.

"Such is my salutary counsel. Do you, O king, accept it fully, and act in accordance with it.

"If you follow it, glory and renown will be yours. Your kingdom will be peaceful, prosperous, flourishing and populous."

When he had heard the owl's excellent words, so full of truth and profit, the king said, "I'll ask the śārika. *Tell me,* śārika, *what the duties of a king are."*

The young *śārika* replied :—

"At long last, father, you ask me about the duties of a king. Come, then, I'll tell you. Do you listen with attentive mind.

"This world, father, rests on two foundations. The acquisition, without avarice,[2] *of wealth, and the conservation of what is gained.*

"Therefore, O lord of men, to acquire wealth and conserve what you have gained(278) *make firm efforts within the bounds of righteousness.*

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[1] *Balacakraṃ hi niśrāya dharmacakraṃ pravartate.* Strictly speaking, as *niśrāya* normally is a post-position, " leaning on," the meaning of this sentence should be " the wheel of justice turns in dependence on the wheel of power." But such a doctrine of " might is right " is hardly in keeping with the tone of the rest of the passage. *Niśrāya* is, therefore, here taken as a preposition. For *niśrāya* see note p. 114.

[2] Reading *alubdha* for *alabdha* of the text.

"Sire, the realm of that king who rules unrighteously becomes weakened and rent on all sides.

"But, sire, the realm of the king who rules righteously is strong, prosperous, flourishing and populous.

"Reprove those who merit reproof, commend those who are worthy of commendation, help those who deserve help, and always find pleasure in doing kindness.

"The king who knows not how to apportion blame and approval, nor to dispense help and kindness, loses his wealth.

"Do not appoint as overlords of village or province even your own sons and brothers, if they be unscrupulous, violent and base.[1]

"A king should exercise leniency for the sake of parents. For those who are disgraced and driven from their inheritance become dangerous enemies.[2]

"A kingdom where insidious enemies are at work becomes split up into five[3] *realms. Do not trust them, and do not be led astray by them.*

"The noble who is led astray and obeys the wills of others falls into the power of his enemies, and later has cause for regret.

"To win power for yourself, and out of regard for your kingdom, examine all matters yourself, even though you thus incur the displeasure of your foes.

"Speak, whether by day or by night, only after due deliberation; for men stand about to listen, and will use what they hear to confound you.

(279)*"He who is brave only and no more soon perishes. The rich man goes on winning power. He who has command of wealth and the power of eloquence will do you harm if he becomes offended with you.*

"Therefore, along with his wife and children, banish the wily man who has much wealth at his disposal, the rich and plausible demagogue, and the crafty man however slender his means.

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[1] *Chava*, cf. Pali *chava* (= *śava*) (1) "corpse"; (2) adj. "vile," *etc.*

[2] The text here is very uncertain.

[3] For the use of "five" as a significant number see references in *Pali Dictionary.*

"Sire, appoint as your minister a man who is wise and thinks of what is beneficial, who is not covetous, but is loyal and a counsellor to the realm.

"When ministers are imperfect in wisdom, and set small store on it, kingdoms and the heads of kingdoms have their troubles increased.

"O king, through the power of the wisdom of intelligent ministers kingdoms and the heads of kingdoms grow in prosperity.

"A covetous and foolish minister, O lord of men, is of no avail to king or kingdom.

"Therefore, O lord of men, appoint as your minister a man who is not covetous, but is prudent and devoted in counsel, a guide to the realm.

"Your eye is not as good as a spy; your policy is not as good as a spy. Therefore a king should employ a spy in all his affairs.

"O king, keep firm control over all your followers in your kingdom, both military and civilian, in all they have to do.

"Therefore, O king, you should find a wise door-keeper. He will exercise vigilance, and this will ensure your ease.

"Such is my salutary counsel(280). *Do you, O king, accept it fully, and act in accordance with it.*

"If you will follow this, glory and renown will be yours. Your kingdom will be peaceful, prosperous, flourishing and populous."

"Now has the owl as well as the śārika *been questioned and they have given their answers to me. Next I ask you, parrot, concerning the true duties of a king.*

"Clever and sensible parrot, tell me truly what are the kinds of kingly power[1] *a king should desire to have."*

The parrot replied :—

"O lord of men, a five-fold power is desirable for a king. Be attentive and hearken to my words.

"The first power is innate in him; the second power is the power of his sons, the third that of relations and friends.

[1] *Balaṃ . . . rājadharmam.*

"The fourth, O king, is that of his army, and regard as the fifth the matchless power of wisdom.

"Whosoever, O king, has this five-fold power, his kingdom is firm, prosperous, rich and populous.

"The force of wisdom is powerful above all the others. Through it a man accomplishes all he has to do, O lord of men.

"By it he shuns what is not to be done, and accomplishes what is to be done. It brings blessings to himself, to his relations and friends, and to the whole kingdom.

"A man who is deficient in wisdom in a king's affairs, even though he be of high birth, is not helpful to the king, nor dear to the kingdom.

(281)*"Soon, O king, such a realm is destroyed by rival kings. The subjects become alienated and seek another lord.*

"Exceeding great honour has the king who is wise and sensible, who appoints as his ministers men who are good, courageous, brave and discerning.

"Glory will be his in this world and the heavenly way in the world beyond, if he has shunned unrighteousness and pursued righteousness.

"Do the right by your mother and father, O great king, for the king who has walked in righteousness in this world[1] *goes to heaven.*[2]

"Do the right by your son and wife, O great king, for the king who has walked in righteousness in this world goes to heaven.

"Do the right by your friend and minister, O great king, for the king who has walked in righteousness in this world goes to heaven.

"Do the right by recluse and brāhman, O great king, for the king who has walked in righteousness in this world goes to heaven.

"Do the right by town and country, O great king, for the king who has walked in righteousness in this world goes to heaven.

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[1] Or " in this respect," *iha*. So for the succeeding stanzas.

[2] With this and the succeeding stanzas compare those at *J*. 5. 123, 223, and 6. 94.

"Do the right in this world and beyond, O great king, for the king who has walked in righteousness in this world goes to heaven.

"Such is my salutary counsel. Do you, O king, accept it fully, and act in accordance with it.

"If you will follow this, glory and renown will be yours, and your kingdom will be peaceful, prosperous, flourishing and populous."

Then thus spoke to them illustrious Brahmadatta(282), *"Wholly wise are you, my sons, clever and sensible.*

"I shall act in accordance with the words of counsel spoken by you all. For I have learnt from your talk on justice what is profitable for the life beyond."

Calling to mind a former existence and a former birth, the Exalted One, the Master, explained this Jātaka *to his monks :*

"When of yore I lived in one of my intermediate existences, I was then this parrot, Śāriputra was the śārika, *Ānanda was the owl, and Śuddhodana was Brahmadatta."*

Thus does the Exalted One, now exempt from trouble, fear and sorrow, relate to his monks his rebirths, his endless, toilsome faring up and down in the past.

Here ends the *avadāna* of the *Mahāvastu* called the " Jātaka of the Three Birds."

Then the Bodhisattva putting off his parrot nature became a young man, and taught the ten right ways of behaviour.

Ten powers[1] *are declared by the Buddha, the kinsman of the sun, to be the attributes of the valiant Bodhisattvas. Hear me as I recount them.*

The wise Bodhisattva has power over his own life, and the power of intelligence. He has won power over rebirth, over his acts and his thoughts. He has the power of dharma, and of magic, and power over his own purpose. The wise Bodhisattva has power over time and place. These are the ten powers.

[1] *Vaśita.* These *vaśitas*, being attributes of a Bodhisattva, are not to be found in the Pali texts. There is, however, a more or less similar list in the *Mahāvyutpatti* (see *Böhtlingk and Roth* s.v.). They may be compared, but are not to be confused, with the ten *balas* of a Tathāgata. The whole passage, however, is obviously out of place here.

(283) *Relying steadfastly and confidently on these ten powers, the valiant men bring to moral maturity*[1] *thousands of* koṭis *of beings.*

The Bodhisattvas purify the Buddha-field[2]; *they are guides. The Bodhisattvas are radiant and filled with great compassion.*

When this Jātaka *was finished eighty-four thousands were brought to moral maturity and a full comprehension of dharma.*[3]

PLAGUES OF FORMER DAYS

When the exalted Buddha came to the confines of Vaiśālī all the demons of the plague fled, and the great multitude in their joy asked the Exalted One, "Behold, Lord, how do all the demons flee when the Exalted One comes to the confines of Vaiśālī?" The Exalted One replied, "O sons of Vasiṣṭha, why should it be strange that the demons flee when the Tathāgata, who has won perfect enlightenment, who is a deva above other devas, enters the confines of your city? There was another occasion also on which the demons fled before me, namely, when as a seer I entered the confines of the city of Kampilla."[1] The Licchavis asked, "Was it so, Lord?" "Yes," he replied.

Once upon a time, O sons of Vasiṣṭha, long ago, in the land of Pañcāla, in the city of Kampilla,[4] there reigned a king named Brahmadatta, who treated his servants kindly, and was charitable and liberal. Therefore the province of Kampilla was prosperous, flourishing, peaceful, well-supplied with food, and thickly peopled with happy subjects. Punishments were abolished, and tumults suppressed. Robbers were put down and trade thrived.

[1] *Paripāceti.*
[2] See note p. 95.
[3] Reading, on Senart's suggestion, *caturaśītisahasrehi dharma abhisamita abhūt*, literally "dharma was comprehended by 84,000." *Caturaśītisahasrāṇi* must be supplied with *paripācitā* in the preceding stanza. *Abhisamita* is the past participle of *abhisameti*. (See note p. 131.)
[4] Pañcāla (also *Uttarapañcāla*) and Kampilla alternate in the Pali texts, as here, between being the name of a land and of its capital city, respectively.

Now the son of King Brahmadatta's priest, named Rakṣita,[1] a man of great power, who practised the ten right ways of behaviour, realising the peril in the pleasures of sense and knowing (the way of) escape from them, was passionately bent on withdrawing from the world.

Seeing, then, the peril of sensuous desires, he went to the slopes of the Himalayas and embraced the religious life of a seer. In the Himalayas he constructed a hermitage(**284**), making a hut of grass and leaves, and lived on roots, leaves, flowers, and fruits. Following the practice of an unorthodox[2] recluse he kept vigil during the first and last watches of the night. He mastered the four meditations and realised the five super-knowledges.

The young man who had thus attained the four meditations and the five super-knowledges, who followed the path of the ten virtues and lived the holy life, could, as he sat cross-legged in his hermitage, touch the orbs of the moon and sun with his hand. An austere recluse, a gifted seer, he had power over all beings, including the devas of Brahmā's world.

Once on a time, a terrible plague, the work of demons,[3] broke out in the great city of Kampilla and its province. Infected by this demonic plague many thousands of beings perished. When King Brahmadatta saw this great calamity in Kampilla, he sent a messenger to Rakṣita on the slopes of the Himalayas to say that a demonic plague was raging in Kampilla and that many thousands were perishing. "Well would it be were the blessed seer to come to Kampilla and bring mercy."

When the seer heard the messenger's words, he left the Himalayas and came to Kampilla. As he entered its confines all the demons fled. The seer brought well-being to Kampilla and taught the ten virtuous ways of conduct to eighty-four thousand beings.

What spell does he, who is attended by good fortune in this world and the next, pronounce or study at the due time?

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[1] See note below p. 237.

[2] *I.e.* "not a Buddhist," literally "in the way outside" (*sc.* Buddhist orthodoxy) *bāhirakena mārgena.*

[3] *Amanuṣya,* "not-human," see note p. 208.

What knowledge is his or what learning? What does he do that he is well-guarded[1] *by blessing?*

He is verily[2] *a blessing who consistently disdains magic-working*[3] *devas and men, kinsmen and all other such beings, who disdains the stings and torments of life, but feels compassion for all.*

(285)*He verily is a blessing who calms the ill-spoken word, enduring it with the power of forbearance, and who is patient when he hears harsh and offensive speech.*

He verily is a blessing to his friends who calms the ill-spoken word, who takes compassion on his friends with his bounty, but is equally charitable to enemies as to friends who are always affectionate, trusting and loyal.

He verily is a blessing to his kinsfolk who among his people and friends constantly shines in virtue, wisdom and self-control.

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[1] Implying, of course, that he is "protected" from evil spells and misfortune. Senart seems to have missed the point concerning the significance of these verses. He calls them "formules d'exorcisme," but analogous passages in the Pali texts show that their intention is rather to confute the popular belief in the worth of omens, spells, and charms. For example in the *Mahāmangala Jātaka* (IV. 72 ff) the Buddha, as the bodhisatta Rakkhita Kumāra (cf. the name *Rakṣita* here) is asked to define what constitutes things of good omen, and he replies by confuting popular notions about good luck and giving instead a list of moral qualities the possession, or the possessor, of which alone can confer blessings on men. The parallel *Mahāmangala Sutta* of *Khp.* and *Sn.* has the same motive, as well as the *Ratana Sutta* of the same two works. (A version of this latter *sutta* is found in the *Mahāvastu*, below p. 242). A few obvious emendations in the *Mahāvastu* text of the first stanza readily make it parallel with the corresponding text of *J.* The first two lines of Senart's text are :—

Kiṃ so naro jalpamacintyakālaṃ
Katamāsya vidyā katamaṃ sya dānaṃ,

while those of *J.* are

Kiṃ su naro jappam adhicca kāle
Kaṃ vā vijjaṃ katamaṃ vā sutānam.

It is fairly obvious that *acintya* should be changed into *adhītya* and *sya dānam* into *śrutānam.*

It is apparent also that the refrain of all the following verses, *svastyayanam tadāhu* is out of place at the end of this first stanza, which should end with *kathaṃkaro rakṣito svastyayena* corresponding with the Pali *kathaṃkaro sotthānena gutto, etc.*

Finally, on the interpretation suggested above, *rakṣita* is out of place in the refrain to all the verses except the first. The verses are not concerned with the qualification of a wizard but with the blessings conferred by a holy and moral life. The blessing (*svastyayana*) of each stanza consists in the exercise of the virtues eulogised in each. By the omission of *rakṣita* (and this can be done without violence to metrical laws) the refrain becomes practically identical in form, if not in content, with that of *J.* Also two MSS. of the *Mahāvastu* omit the word in two separate stanzas.

[2] Literally "they say it," *tadāhu.*

[3] *Siddhadeva.* Cf. *Miln.* 120, 267, and other references in *Pali Dictionary.*

He verily is a blessing to kings, in whom kings, lords of the earth, put their trust, knowing him to be for all time unequalled in this world for truth and courage.

He verily is a blessing in the home whom a fond mother . . .[1] *compassionate towards her offspring, beautiful and virtuous has borne.*

(**286**)*They verily are a blessing among arhans, who praise the Buddha after the manner of Āryans and serve him with worship, who are learned, triumphant over doubt, and emancipated.*

They verily are a blessing in the village who dispense food and drink in season, sandal-wood from Kāśi, perfumes and garlands, and who are well-disposed to recluses and brāhmans.

He verily is a blessing in the village who teaches men that by eschewing falsehood, slander, adultery, murder and drunkenness they shall go to heavenly bliss.

It may well occur to you, O sons of Vasiṣṭha, that the seer named Rakṣita at that time and on that occasion was somebody else. You must not think so. And why? I, O sons of Vasiṣṭha, at that time and on that occasion was the seer named Rakṣita. You may think that the king, named Brahmadatta, in the city of Kampilla at that time and on that occasion was somebody else. That, too, you must not think. King Śreṇiya Bimbisāra here at that time and on that occasion was the king named Brahmadatta in the city of Kampilla. And it was then that I as a seer entered the confines of Kampilla and all those demons of the plague fled. So now, too, do the demons flee as I enter the confines of Vaiśālī.

Not only on these occasions have all demons fled on my entering the confines of a city. There was another occasion also.

Once upon a time, O sons of Vasiṣṭha, long ago, in the city of Benares in the province of Kāśi there ruled a king who was virtuous, majestic, strong and wealthy. He had a great army, treated his servants kindly, and was charitable and liberal. (**287**) His city of Benares and his province of Kāśi were flourishing, prosperous, peaceful, well-supplied with food, and populous.

[1] Lacuna.

Now this king had an elephant[1] which was virtuous, and of great might, force, and power. Through its force and power Benares and the province of Kāśi were immune from afflictions and calamities, and when it entered the confines of other towns and provinces, they, too, were rendered immune from afflictions and calamities.

Once there broke out a demonic plague in the city of Mithilā,[2] in Videha, and many thousands perished. The citizens heard that the king of Kāśi had an elephant which was virtuous, and of great might, force and power, and that any town or village it entered was rid of afflictions and calamities. So the king of Videha said to a certain brāhman, " Go to Benares. The king of Kāśi is at all times generous, charitable and liberal. Tell him how things are here, and ask him for his elephant. If that elephant comes here, all this demonic plague will be allayed."

The brāhman, in obedience to the king's command, in due time reached Benares and entered it. And the king of Kāśi happened to be coming out of Benares in great regal magnificence and pomp, with the elephant going in front gaily caparisoned, covered with a net-work of gold, and radiant with splendour. The brāhman stood in front of the king of Kāśi, and greeted him with a cry of " Victory to the king ! " The king, on seeing the brāhman, stopped, and asked him, " What do you want, O brāhman ? What can I give to you ? "

The brāhman related to the king all about the onslaught of the demons in Mithilā, and said, " O great king, allow this elephant to come and bring mercy to Mithilā." The king was merciful and ready to succour others, and he gave the elephant, all gaily caparisoned as it was, to the brāhman, saying, " I give you, brāhman, this caparisoned elephant, clothed in a net-work of gold, regal, royal, and noble(288), as well as its driver. Go your way."

Perhaps, again, O sons of Vasiṣṭha, you will think that

[1] Literally " a Nāga elephant " *hastināga*, but *nāga* here is a mere conventional epithet, denoting " fine," " valiant," " heroic," etc.

[2] Capital of the Videha country which bordered on the Ganges and was one of the two important principalities of the Vajjian confederacy. In the Indian epics Mithilā is chiefly famous as the residence of King Janaka, and it is, nowadays, generally identified with Janakapura, a small town within the Nepal border. (*D.P.N.*)

at that time and on that occasion, that king in Benares was somebody else. You must not think so. The king in Benares at that time and on that occasion was King Śreṇiya Bimbisāra here. Perhaps, again, O sons of Vasiṣṭha, you will think that at that time and on that occasion the king of Mithilā was somebody else. You must not think so. And why? The king of Mithilā at that time and on that occasion was general Siṃha[1] here. You will, perhaps, suppose that the brāhman was somebody else. Really he was this Tomara the Licchavi. You will, perhaps, think that the elephant was somebody else. Verily, you must not think so. I was the king's elephant at that time and on that occasion. Then, too, did all the demons in Mithilā flee before me when I was in the form of that elephant, just as they have done now on my entering the confines of Vaiśālī.

Moreover, O sons of Vasiṣṭha, these were not the only occasions that all demons fled on my entering the confines of a city. They did so on another occasion also.

Once upon a time, O sons of Vasiṣṭha, long ago, in the city of Rājagṛiha, there ruled a king who was virtuous, mighty, kind to his servants, liberal and charitable, powerful, wealthy and possessing a great army. His kingdom was flourishing, prosperous, peaceful, well-supplied with food, and densely peopled with happy subjects. Punishments were abolished, riots suppressed, and robbers kept in check, and trade thrived. But a demonic plague broke out there and many thousands perished by it.

Now the king of Anga[2] had a bull which was handsome, beautiful, virtuous and strong. By its might and power all the land of Anga was rendered immune from afflictions and calamities. The brāhmans and laymen of Rājagṛiha heard that the king of Anga had a bull which was handsome, beautiful, virtuous and strong, and that by its might and power the land of Anga(**289**) was rid of afflictions and calamities. They therefore informed the king, saying, "Your majesty, we hear that the king of Anga has a bull that is handsome, beautiful,

[1] Pali *Sīha*, a Licchavi general of Vaiśālī, who was originally a Nigaṇṭha, or Jain, but on the occasion of the Buddha's visit to Vesāli he came to him and accepted his teaching. (*D.P.N.*)

[2] One of the sixteen Mahājanapadas or great countries often referred to in the Pali texts. It lay to the east of Magadha.

virtuous, strong and powerful. Whatever village or town it enters becomes rid of affliction and calamity. O great king, send for the bull, so that when brought here it may allay the demonic plague in Rājagṛiha."

The king of Rājagṛiha sent a brāhman to the king of Anga. "Go to the king of Anga," said he to him, "make known our troubles to him and entreat him for his bull." In obedience to the king the brāhman left Rājagṛiha and duly arrived at the city of the king of Anga. He approached the king of Anga and greeted him with a cry of "Victory to the king!" He told him in detail all about the demonic plague in Rājagṛiha and asked him for the bull.

Now that king was merciful and ready to succour others. So, when he had heard of the great trouble of the people of Rājagṛiha, he gave the bull to the brāhman, saying, "Depart, brāhman, and let the people and all creatures in Rājagṛiha be relieved."

The brāhman took the bull, left the land of Anga and came to the land of Magadha. And, O sons of Vasiṣṭha, no sooner had the bull entered the confines of Rājagṛiha than all the demons fled, and the whole province of Rājagṛiha was rid of affliction and calamity.

Perhaps, again, O sons of Vasiṣṭha, you will think that this king of Anga in the city of Anga at that time and on that occasion was somebody else. You must not think this. And why? This King Śreṇiya Bimbisāra here was at that time and on that occasion the king of Anga. You will, perhaps, think that the king of Rājagṛiha at that time and on that occasion was somebody else. You must not think so. Why? That king of Rājagṛiha was this general Siṃha here. You will, perhaps, think that the brāhman who at that time and on that occasion brought back the bull was somebody else. You must not think so. And why? **(290)** This Tomara the Licchavi here, O sons of Vasiṣṭha, was at that time and on that occasion the brāhman of Rājagṛiha who brought the bull from the king of Anga to Rājagṛiha. You will, perhaps, again think that the bull of the king of Anga at that time and on that occasion was somebody else. Verily you must not think so. And why? I, O sons of Vasiṣṭha, was the bull of the king of Anga at that time and on that occasion. Then did I

in the form of a bull enter the confines of Rājagṛiha and all the demons fled, just as they have done now when I, in the possession of perfect enlightenment, entered the confines of Vaiśālī.

Here ends the "Jātaka of the Bull" in the *Mahāvastu-Avadāna.*

THE BUDDHA IN VEŚĀLĪ

So in due course the Exalted One reached Vaiśālī. There he brought well-being both to those within and to those without Vaiśālī, and recited these verses[1] on well-being.

Homage to the Enlightened One. Homage to his enlightenment. Homage to him who is freed; homage to his freedom. Homage to wisdom; homage to him who is fully wise. Pay homage to the foremost and the best in the whole world.

All creatures here assembled, creatures of earth and of sky, be ye all gladdened, and listen to what the Conqueror declares to be well-being.[2]

Whatever be the choicest gem in the world or the world beyond, or in heaven, it is not comparable to the Tathāgata, (**291**) *the deva above all devas, the supreme of men. This choicest gem is in the Buddha. By this truth let blessing come from man and from demon.* . . .[3]

[1] These verses are a version of the *Ratana Sutta* of *Sn.* and *Khp.* already referred to in a note on p. 237. Although the verses are here introduced by the words *svastyayanagāthāṃ bhāṣati* which might be translated "he pronounced an incantation" ("a spell-verse"), it seems better, as has already been suggested, to take these verses as meaning that true welfare consists in the acceptance of the truth enunciated in each, rather than to regard them as "incantations" calculated to produce good results by a mere recital of them. The point of the whole series of stories is that the plagues were automatically allayed by the very presence of the Buddha in one or another of his incarnations. It is possible, of course, that the author, or authors, of the *Mahāvastu* recension did regard these verses as incantations or spells, and that the addition of the words *manuṣyato vā amanuṣyato vā* ("from man and from demon") to the refrain as it exists in Pali, emphasises, as Senart suggests, this magical nature of the verses. But that is not necessarily so. These words may equally serve to emphasise the immunity of the believer in the truth of the "gems" from all evil machinations whether of man or of demon. True blessings, pearls of priceless value come from belief in the Buddha and his doctrine.

[2] Literally "the blessing pronounced by the Conqueror", *svastyayanam jinena bhāṣitam.* The corresponding Pali is (*atho pi*) *sakkaccaṃ* (*sunantu*) *bhāsitam,* which would make it tempting, if there were MS. justification for it, to emend *svastyayanam* into *satkṛityam,* the Buddhist Sanskrit form corresponding to *sakkaccaṃ,* "respectfully," "reverently," *etc.*

[3] Lacuna.

The choicest gem is in the dharma. By this truth let blessing come from man and from demon.

There is no equal to that pure concentration which the supreme Buddha extols and which men say is unbroken.[1] *This choicest gem is in the dharma. By this truth let blessing come from man and from demon.*

The eight orders of men whom people always praise form four pairs.[2] *The Sugata has declared that they are worthy of offerings, and the giving of these brings great reward. This choicest gem is in the Sangha. By this truth let blessing come from man and from demon.*

He who has the good fortune to possess all the true doctrines[3](292) *has left behind the three evil states of harbouring theories about individuality,*[4] *of doubt, and of the delusion concerning good works.*[5] *This choicest gem is in the Sangha. By this truth let blessing come from man and from demon.*

Whatever wrong a pupil commits in deed, speech, or thought, it is impossible[6] *for him to conceal it. This impossibility has been proclaimed by those to whom the way is manifest. This choicest gem is in the Sangha. By this truth let blessing come from man and from demon.*

As Indra's column is firmly grounded so that it is unshaken by the four winds, like it do I proclaim the worthy man to be, who keeps full in view the well-taught profound Āryan truths. This choicest gem is in the Sangha. By this truth let blessing come from man and from demon.

Those who clearly understand the Āryan truths well-taught

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[1] *Ānantariya*, or "the result of which is immediate." Cf. *ānantaryāni karmāṇi*, p. 199. Pali *ānantarika*.

[2] *I.e.* one man in each of the four stages of the Path and another in the corresponding stage of fruition make four pairs and a total of eight individuals. See *S.* 4. 272 and *Vism.* 219.

[3] *Darśanasampadāyo*, the equivalent of Pali *diṭṭhisampadā* which appears at *A.* 1. 269 as the third of a set of three *sampadās* or "attainments," the other two being *sīla*° and *cittasampadā*.

[4] *Satkāyadṛiṣṭī*, Pali *sakkāyadiṭṭhi*, "theory of soul, heresy of individuality, speculation as to the eternity or otherwise of one's own individuality" (*Pali Dictionary*).

[5] *Śīlavrata*, here in a bad sense, usually rendered in Pali by *sīlabbataparamāsa*, "the contagion of mere rule and ritual, the infatuation of good works, the delusion that they suffice" (*Pali Dictionary*). The term is rendered by Lord Chalmers at *M.* 1. 9 by "the virus of good works."

[6] *Abhavya*, with *abhavyatā* for the abstract noun below. *I.e.* (?) "a moral impossibility," called *abhabbaṭṭhāna* at *D.* 3. 133, etc.

by him whose wisdom is profound, however sorely they are tempted by the world(293) *do not cling to life in any of the eight spheres of existence.*[1] *This choicest gem is in the Sangha. By this truth let blessing come from man and from demon.*

Those who are devoted to endeavour, their minds intent on what is good, those who have withdrawn from the world as Gotama taught them, win the highest gain, pass to immortality, and with their hearts liberated enjoy complete release. This choicest gem is in the Sangha. By this truth let blessing come from man and from demon.

Their old karma is exhausted; there is no fresh accumulation of it. Immune from future existence, with the seed of life destroyed, and no longer in a condition of growth, the wise pass out like a lamp. This choicest gem is in the Sangha. By this truth let blessing come from man and from demon.

As a fire lit by night[2] *after burning fiercely goes out for lack of fuel, so also do the wise sons of the Buddha, when they have by their wisdom overcome their proneness to passion, escape the visitation of the king of death.*(294) *This choicest gem is in the Sangha. By this truth let blessing come from man and from demon.*

As the tree-tops in the forest break out in bloom in Caitra, the first month of summer, and, stirred by the breezes, shed their fragrance abroad, so also do the wise sons of the Buddha shed forth the fragrance of the virtue they have won. This choicest gem is in the Sangha. By this truth let blessing come from man and from demon.

All demons that are here assembled, those of earth and those of air, let them always deal kindly with the race of men. Day and night they bring you offerings.

Therefore keep diligent watch over this man,[3] *as a mother shows anxious care for her child. By this truth let blessing come from man and from demon.*

Let those devas who believe in Vipaśyin, in Viśvabhū,

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[1] See note p. 36.
[2] Reading, on Senart's suggestion, *niśīthe* for *niṣīde* of the text.
[3] *I.e.* the man who believes and trusts in the "gems" of Buddhist doctrine (or, alternatively the man on whose behalf these verses are pronounced as a spell, see p. 242).

in Krakucchanda, in radiant Kanakamuni,[1] *in Kāśyapa, and in glorious Gotama Śākyamuni, all of them mighty Buddhas*(295), *guard him well, and confer blessing on the race of men.*

Therefore do ye keep diligent watch over this man, as a mother shows anxious care for her child. This choicest gem is in the Sangha. By this truth let blessing come from man and from demon.

I bow before him, the Buddha, the best of men and devas, who, overcoming the world, set rolling the wheel of dharma for the sake of all creation. Let there be prosperity. I bow before the dharma. Let there be prosperity. I bow before the Sangha. Let prosperity come from man and from demon.

When she had fed the Buddha and his monks Gośṛingī presented them with the sāl-forest. And then this thought occurred to the Licchavis: "Each one of us could provide the Exalted One and his community of monks for a whole life-time with robe, almsbowl, lodging, and medical requisites for use in sickness. But let us so act that the multitude can join together in a deed of merit. Let us make a levy on each of sufficient rice for one man."

An individual levy of rice was thus raised containing twenty-five and more kinds of rice. And so they maintained the Exalted One and his community of disciples for a week.

(296)*As the starry hosts encircle the moon, so does the throng sit around the radiant, mighty, beautiful, and glorious Buddha.*[2]

Arrayed in golden garments, the colour of karṇikāra[3] *flowers, and wearing solid bracelets they sit around the Buddha.*

Their bodies smeared with yellow sandal-wood ointment, and clothed in best Benares cloth, [*they sit around the Buddha*][4]

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[1] ? *Bhāmakanakamuni.* So printed, but Senart's index has "*Bhānakanakamuni* (?) = *kanakamuni.*"

[2] These verses, which, at the end, are attributed to Ānanda, are introduced here with a strange abruptness.

[3] See p. 186.

[4] Lacuna.

The Buddha with all his splendour outshines this attendant band of devas which had foregathered, pure, well-born and virtuous though they were, as the lord of the stars outshines the planets.

As the light-giving moon in a cloudless sky outshines the hosts of stars, so does the Buddha with all his splendour outshine the noble lords of earth.

As the sun prevails in the sky and dazzles as it stands in its sunny path, so does the Buddha with all his splendour outshine the noble lords of earth.

As the sun blazes in the sky and dazzles as it stands in its sunny path, so does the Buddha with all his splendour outshine the noble lords of earth.

Like the tall and bright red-lotus with its fragrant petals, (297) *so does the Buddha with all his splendour outshine the noble lords of earth.*

As Śakra, the hundred-eyed crusher of the Asuras, outshines the Three-and-Thirty-devas, so does the Buddha with all his splendour outshine the noble lords of earth.

As Brahmā, compassionate to all creatures, outshines the splendour of all the devas, so does the Buddha with all his splendour outshine the noble lords of earth.

The Exalted One shed a pure, perfect[1] *radiance. Then, aware of their faith in immortality, he instructed the noble lords, and revealed dharma to them as clearly as though he held it in his hand.*

Thus did the venerable Ānanda praise the Exalted One. The Exalted One instructed, gladdened and thrilled the Licchavis of Vaiśālī with a discourse on dharma, and he converted many thousands.

Thus the gift made by the Licchavis of Vaiśālī was a meritorious gift[2] conferred as a mark of their gratitude.[3]

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[1] *Daśāngupeta* (?) literally "endowed with ten limbs or parts," *i.e.* a radiance shining to all the ten quarters, hence, perfect. Senart, however, translates "douée des dix qualités," though he admits that he does not know what these ten qualities can be.

[2] *Deyadharma*, Pali *deyyadhamma*, "that which has the quality of being given," a gift, especially a gift or set of gifts which it was a rule to give to monks, hence "a meritorious gift." See a list of such gifts at *Nd*[1] 373 and *Nd*[2] 528.

[3] *Anumodanāye*, dative of purpose. For the sense compare Pali *anumodanagāthā*, "verses expressing gratitude."

As the bees come together and cull the essence of various flowers, gathering it in their mouths and on their feet. . . .[1]

(298)*Through their concerted efforts is made a juice*[2] *that is sweet of taste and smell, and that, pressed together, becomes choicest honey, goodly in colour, taste and smell, and useful as food and medicine.*

In the same way, wherever the Exalted One comes, to village or to town, the multitude flock together, children and wives, men and women, bent on lovely deeds.

Making common contribution they give the Sangha drink and food, and prepare rice-gruel for them. They give drink and most pleasant hard food, and essences approved by Āryans.

In proportion to their faith and their means they make their common contribution over a long period, and, with devotion in their hearts, they give again and again. And thus the store of their merit goes on increasing.

Adoring him with their joined hands raised in salutation, they respectfully rise up from their seats.[3] *They render him service,*[4] *and give thanks for dharma. So does the great multitude joyfully perform its deed of merit.*

Those who give gifts and do deeds of merit, whether they contribute with words of praise(299) *or participate in the communal offering all go to a heavenly abode.*

Invested with the forms of devas, waited on by throngs of Apsarases, with plenty of food, choice things to eat and drink, they rejoice in the mansion[5] *they have come to.*

And when they come again into the world of men, they all are born in families that are rich, thriving, prosperous, and fruitful in men and women.

The good and true man esteems the honey gathered from all kinds of flowers as bringing great blessing. Whatever man desires, so he desire it with his mind, it all shall turn out well for him, even as he wishes.

Gaining all your ends, you pass on to that release in which

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[1] Lacuna.

[2] *Yosa,* a Prakrit form conjectured by Senart, as being equivalent to Sanskrit *yūṣa,* Pali *yūsa.*

[3] Reading *āsanatāt* or *āsanatā* (so 2 MSS.) for *āsanatāṃ* of the text.

[4] *Vaiyāvṛta,* a Buddhist Sanskrit from of Pali *veyyāvacca* which corresponds to Sanskrit * *vaiyāpṛitya,* abstract from of *vyāpṛita,* "active," "busy." (See *Pali Dictionary*).

[5] *Vimāna.* See note p. 26.

all the lusts that are inherent in the elements of sentient life[1] *are cast away. Thus did the Saviour of the world, the Great Lord, bestow his blessing on them, their sons and wives, their kith and kin.*

Then the Licchavis said to the Exalted One, " Here, Lord, is the greatest of our pleasure grounds, namely the Great Grove[2], with its pavilion. This we give and present to the Exalted One and his company of disciples." The Exalted One said to his disciples, " Herewith, monks, I grant you permission to use this as a place of rest, of lodging, and of recreation."

Then the Exalted One left the Great Grove and came to the shrine of Cāpāla.[3] **(300)** The Licchavis asked, " Where is the Exalted One ? " The monks replied, " O sons of Vasiṣṭha, the Exalted One has gone from the Great Grove to pass the day at the shrine of Cāpāla." Then the Licchavis said, " We give and present the shrine of Cāpāla to the Exalted One and his company of disciples."

On another occasion, when the Licchavis went to the Great Grove to bow at his feet, the Exalted One had finished his meal and had gone to pass the day at the Saptāmra[4] shrine. The Licchavis asked the monks, " Friends, where is the Exalted One ? " The monks replied, " O sons of Vasiṣṭha, the Exalted One has finished his meal and has gone to pass the day at the Saptāmra shrine." The Licchavis proceeded to the Saptāmra shrine, and, after bowing at the feet of the Exalted One, said to him, " Lord, we give and present the Saptāmra shrine to thee and thy company of disciples."

In the same way were presented the shrines of Bahuputra,[2] Gautamaka[3] and Kapinahya.[4]

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[1] *Saṃskārā.* See p. 99.

[2] *Mahāvana.*

[3] A shrine near Vesāli, at one time the dwelling place of the *yakṣa* Cāpāla.

[4] Pali *Sattamba* or *Sattambaka*, a shrine near Vesāli, so-called after the seven daughters of King Kikī of Benares who strove for attainment there. (*D.P.N.*)

[2] Pali *Bahuputta* or *Bahuputtaka*, a shrine to the north of Vesāli, originally a many-branched banyan tree where people prayed to the spirit of the tree for sons. Hence the name. (*D.P.N.*)

[3] Pali *Gotamaka*, a shrine to the south of Vesāli, so-called after Gotama.

[4] As the above three shrines were, respectively to the west, north, and south of Vesāli, it may be presumed that Kapinahya was to the east, although the shrine named at *D.* I. 9–10 as being to the east was Udena. It is possible that Kapinahya has some connexion with the place called Kapinaccanā, which, however, was not a shrine. (See *D.P.N.*)

On yet another occasion, the Exalted One, having finished his meal, had left the Great Grove to pass the day at the shrine of Markaṭahradatīra,[1] when the Licchavis came to the Great Grove to bow at his feet. They asked the monks, "Friends, where is the Exalted One?" The monks replied, "O sons of Vasiṣṭha, the Exalted One has finished his meal and has gone to pass the day at the shrine of Markaṭahradatīra." Thereupon, the Licchavis went to the shrine of Markaṭahradatīra, and, having bowed at the feet of the Exalted One, said to him, "We give and present the shrine of Markaṭahradatīra to the Exalted One and his company of disciples."

When Āmrapālī[2] had entertained the Exalted One and his company of disciples she gave them the Mango Grove,[3] and when Bālikā[4] had done so she gave them her park Bālikāchavī.

Here ends the chapter of "The Sunshades" in the *Mahāvastu-Avadāna*.[5]

And so may the noble Sangha, guardian of the treasure of dharma, which is contained in the nine-fold[6] *scriptures, the Sangha that belongs to the king of dharma of infinite glory* **(301)**, *long continue in the greatest prosperity, as steadfast as Mount Meru.*

THE STORY OF MĀLINĪ

Whenever Buddhas appear in the world, Pratyekabuddhas[7] also appear, who, splendid in their silence and of great power,

[1] *I.e.* the shrine on "the shore of the Ape's Pool," a locality near Vesāli.
[2] See p. 216.
[3] Āmravana.
[4] Otherwise unknown, but Senart suggests that Bālikāchavī is identical with the Vālikārāma, a monastery in Vesāli. (See *D.P.N.*)
[5] This chapter has, in translation, been divided into several.
[6] *Navavidhaśāsana*, cf. Pali *navangabuddhasāsana*, "the nine-fold teaching of the Buddhas," *i.e.* the nine divisions of the Buddhist scriptures according to their form or style, as *sutta*, *gāthā*, *jātaka*, etc.
[7] See p. 40.

live in loneliness like a rhinoceros,[1] train each his own self, and finally pass away.

Now a certain Pratyekabuddha of the land of Kāśi one morning entered a village to beg for alms. He was courteous of manners, both in approaching and in taking his leave, in looking forwards and backwards, in extending and withdrawing his hand, and in carrying his cloak, bowl and robe. He was like a Nāga. He had accomplished his task; his faculties were turned inwards; his mind was not turned outwards. He was unwavering as one who had achieved harmony with dharma. He did not look before him farther than the length of a plough.

The village overseer, who was an amiable man and at peace with devas and men, happened to be hurrying out of the village to inspect the work in the fields. Meanwhile, the Pratyekabuddha, although he had scoured all the streets systematically[2] in quest of alms, had to hurry away from the village with his bowl just as it was after being washed.[3] "It is meal-time,"[4] said he, "yet no one has given me alms."

When the village overseer had attended to his business and was returning to the village, he saw the Pratyekabuddha hurrying away. He thought to himself "It is meal-time. I'll just see what alms this mendicant has received." So he

[1] *Khaḍgaviṣāṇakalpa*, literally, "like the horn of the Indian rhinoceros" (*Rhinoceros unicornis*). This was a stock description of Pratyekabuddhas, cf. *Mahāvastu* I. 357, 327; Divy. 294, 582, and, in Pali, *Vism.* 234. It is the title of a *sutta* in *Sn.* (35 ff.) a version of which is given below, p. 358. Translators do not seem to be agreed as to whether *khaḍgaviṣāṇa* denotes the animal itself or its horn. The Commentary on *J.* 5. 406 gives *khagga* (= *khaḍga*) as the equivalent of *palāsāda*, "rhinoceros," so that *khaḍgaviṣāṇakalpa* must thus mean "like the horn of a rhinoceros" and is so translated, *e.g.* by P. Maung Tin in *Path of Purity* (= *Vism.* 234). Others, however, like Fausböll (*S.B.E.* X, pt. II, p. 6) and E. M. Hare in *Woven Cadences*, p. 6 (*S.B.B.* XV) render "like a rhinoceros." The latter rendering is possible if *khaḍga* in its primary sense of "sword" and *viṣāṇa*, "horn" be taken together as a bahuvrihi compound name for a one-horned animal.

[2] Literally "part by part," *sāvadānam* (from *sa-ava-dā*), Pali *sapadānam*. According to Senart the Pali form is due to a wrong assumption that the root of the word is *pada*. (Cf. the etymologies cited in *Pali Dictionary*.) He is of the opinion that the *Mahāvastu* form is the correct one, and seems to be supported in this by Beal's rendering of the Chinese version by "divide the streets." The confusion of *apa* and *ava* is a commonplace of Pali etymology.

[3] *Yathādhauta*, *i.e.* not soiled by food.

[4] *Prāyonnakālo*, an admittedly doubtful conjecture of Senart's. If the MSS. did not seem to be agreed here and immediately below that the word begins with *priya* (which Senart emends into *prā*) it would be tempting to read *pānānnakālo*, "time for drink and food."

went up to the Pratyekabuddha and asked him, "My friend, have you obtained any alms?" The Pratyekabuddha, splendid in his silence, replied by showing the village overseer his empty bowl.

When he saw the Pratyekabuddha's empty bowl, the overseer said to himself, "How uncharitable people must be, since this man, who is so worthy of offerings, is allowed to depart from such a wealthy village with his alms-bowl as it was when washed! Can it be that these people want to deprive themselves of the joy of giving alms to this illustrious man?"[1] Aloud he said, "My friend, come with me, I will give you food." And taking the Pratyekabuddha with him he entered the village. In the square he stopped, and shouted *avidha! avidha!*[2]

The whole village, men and women, hearing the village overseer as he stood there crying *avidha! avidha!* ran to the spot. They came up to him (**302**) and asked him, "What is the matter?[3] Why do you shout *avidha! avidha!*" The village overseer replied, "I cry because you do not delight in generosity, because you have not the virtue of charity. For, see, this one monk leaves such a rich village with his alms-bowl as it was when washed." The elders of the village, after hearing the overseer, were of opinion that honour should be paid to the Pratyekabuddha.

The village overseer took the Pratyekabuddha to his home, honoured him with food, and invited him to be his guest as long as he lived. "I shall," said he, "keep this worthy man in every comfort and ease as long as he lives." And he gave instructions to his daughter, saying, "See to it that you serve this worthy man with food every day." The young girl was pleased and glad. "It will mean" said she, "that I'll have done a shining and lovely deed." And so, serene and devoted to devas and men, she served the Pratyekabuddha with food every day.

[1] The text is so corrupt here as almost to make it advisable to omit the sentence and leave a lacuna. Not the least objectionable feature is the reference to a Pratyekbuddha as a "light" *dīpa*, if, that is, Senart's conjecture of *taddīpam* for the MS. *uddīpayam* and *taddīpayam*, together with the insertion of *na*, is correct.

[2] Senart compares the Prakrit interjection *avida*.

[3] The text has *kiṃ kṣemaṃ*, which Senart attributes to a scribal error, by way of *khemaṃ*, for *kiṃ khimaṃ* = *kiṃ khalvidaṃ* (*kiṃ khalu idaṃ*).

The Pratyekabuddha, eating with the right view of food,[1] and ridding himself of all impurity, had great good fortune. And as the village overseer's daughter saw the Pratyekabuddha's various deportments there grew up in her a sublime trust. And other people, too, believed in him.

Now the Pratyekabuddha, through the kindness of the village overseer, won his final release[2] in a field near the village. The overseer cremated him, and erected a tope for him, neither very low nor very high, plastered with durable cement. At that tope the overseer's daughter made daily offerings of food in a bronze bowl, of perfumes, wreaths and incense. One day, her wreath of various flowers was snatched away from the tope by the wind. She thereupon, with her servants' help, made a fresh wreath in place of the one carried away, a long wreath like a chain consisting of various flowers. With this wreath she encircled the whole of the Pratyekabuddha's tope. Her heart became filled with exceeding great joy when she saw that this wreath of hers outshone in beauty and brilliance all other wreaths, and kept its beauty fresh even after she had lived the life-time of a deva among the devas. Then with devotion in her heart (**303**) she made a vow, saying, "Wherever I am reborn, may I have a chaplet on my head like this wreath that glitters here on the tope."

After doing this fair deed she died, and was reborn among the devas having a chaplet of jewels on her head, and was waited on by a thousand Apsarases. Passing away thence she came to a new existence in the womb of the chief wife of King Kṛikī[3] of Benares. After nine or ten months there was born to the queen a handsome and beautiful daughter whose head was crowned by a chaplet of jewels. Hence they gave her the name of Mālinī. She was dear to and beloved of not only

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[1] *Parijñātabhojana*, cf. Pali *pariññātabhojanā*, *Dh.* 92, where it is translated by Mrs. Rhys Davids as "who understand the body's need," and by Max Müller, "who live on recognised food." The Commentary (*DhA.* 2. 172) explains the term with reference to the three *pariññās* or "understandings," viz. *ñātapariññā*, "understanding through experience (of cooked food)," *tīraṇapariññā*, "understanding through judgment (of what is unwholesome)," and *pahānapariññā*, "understanding (what food to leave)."

[2] Literally "passed away without attachment or clinging (to rebirth)" *anupādāya parinirvṛita*.

[3] Pali Kikī, king of Benares in the time of the Buddha Kāśyapa. The Pali texts mention eight daughters of his, of whom seven have already been referred to (see p. 248*n*), but Mālinī is not mentioned among them.

the king but all his court, and the whole capital was unanimous in judging her a virtuous maiden.

A Pratyekabuddha[1] *went to a village to beg for alms, but came away with his bowl just as it was when washed. A village overseer saw this Buddha*[2] *and said, "I wonder what this healthy, exalted man has received by way of alms."*

Then the exalted man held out his alms-bowl to the overseer, who, when he saw it contained no alms, was sorely distressed.

"The world is blind," said he, " and always afflicted with wrong belief. Men do not duly honour such a man who is so worthy of offerings."

Coming to the village he stood in the square and shouted avidha ! avidha ! *so that people collected in crowds.*

When a great crowd, both men and women, had come together, they approached the village overseer and asked him, "What is the matter? What means this cry of avidha ! avidha !

(**304**) The overseer replied :—

"You are indeed a fine crowd,[3] *but without any sense of generosity. For here is this solitary mendicant treated scurvily in your village."*

When they heard the overseer's words, the whole village including the women, treated the Buddha with repeated acts of kindness.[4]

The overseer himself, with his wife and children, said, "I shall invite the Tathāgata to live with me in ease and comfort."

And the overseer's own daughter, well-clothed in neat garments, and virtuous in her conduct, ministered to the Tathāgata.

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[1] A verse redaction.

[2] It is worth remarking that the terms usually denoting a Buddha are in this passage applied to a Pratyekabuddha.

[3] *Koṭi*—if the reading is correct—here used as an indefinite number and, perhaps, in a depreciatory sense, like the Horatian *nos numerus sumus.*

[4] *Sārāyaṇīyaṃ karensu. Sārāyaṇīya* is the Pali *sārāṇīya*, which, however, is used only with *kathā* in the sense of " polite, courteous, kindly speech," or with *dhammā*, " states of conciliation." Other Buddhist Sanskrit texts have *saṃrañjanī* and *saṃrañjanīya* (*AvŚ.* I. 229 and *Divy.* 404), which seem to confirm its etymology as being from *saṃ* + *raj*, " to gladden." The use of the word as a substantive, as here, is unusual. Cf. *Mahāvastu*, 3. 47, 60, 206, etc.

Through the overseer's kindness, the devout Buddha, a seer exempt from further existence, won final release in that village.

And when he had thus passed away, the overseer cremated him, erected a tope, and honoured the great seer with dance and music and song.

One day, his daughter finding white flowers blown about by the wind, gathered them, put them together and wove them into a long wreath.

"May I," said she, "wherever I be reborn, have a chaplet round my head like this bright wreath placed here by my hands. May this vow of mine be fulfilled."

After doing this lovely deed in the Buddha's honour she passed away, and was reborn as an Apsaras among the devas of Trāyastriṃśa.

A hundred-thousand Apsarases attended to do her honour, but of them all she was the fairest and best, a maiden of consummate beauty.

(305)*Then when she, the glorious deva maiden, passed away hence, she appeared in the womb of King Kṛikī's wife.*

When the twelfth month had run its course, the king's wife gave birth to a girl, beautiful throughout, Mālinī by name.

. . .[1] *Exceeding fair and lovely was she, the best of royal maidens, daughter of Kāśi's king.*

Virtuous, well-clothed in neat garments, she came and stood before King Kṛikī, raising her joined hands in greeting.

And as she stood thus in respectful salutation, the king spoke to her and said, "Good daughter, I bid you feed the brāhmans without wearying."

Obeying her father's command, Mālinī ministered to all the needs of twenty-thousand brāhmans.

Now when the brāhmans saw Mālinī, who was so like an Apsaras, passion assailed their hearts, and they strove again and again to caress her.

When Mālinī saw how frivolous, insolent, wanton and crude of sense they were, she decided that they were not worthy of offerings.

Going up to the terrace she looked out all around, and espied a pupil of the Exalted One, the glorious Buddha.

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[1] Lacuna.

She, King Kṛikī's daughter, her body anointed with ointment of Kāśi sandal-wood, came to the terrace and looked out in all directions.

And she saw approaching with a stately gait disciples of the Buddha, who had put away all sin, and were in their last existence.

(**306**)*She sent out a female servant and bade her to greet these seers, and when she had greeted them to say to them, "Enter, sirs, and sit down."*

And the servant approached, and bowed at the feet of these men whose selves were well-developed.[1] *Raising her joined hands she said, "Enter, sirs, and sit down."*

The disciples of the Buddha, who had overcome passion, who were confident, and the wisest in the world, who had put away sin, and were in their last existence,

Entered the chamber of the king's charming daughter, a white chamber, well-wrought, with fine portals, and guarded by sword and spear.

Here there was a special couch covered with a rug of Benares cloth, fringed with sparkling gems and strewn with bright flowers.

They, with hearts untarnished like a fair lotus that grows in water and is yet unspotted by it, sat there, rid of all folly.

To please these noble men Mālinī with her own hands served them gruel of rice made without admixture of black grain, and seasoned with various condiments.

Then the monks said, "Our Master is the wisest in all the world, and therefore the great and valiant one must eat first".

Hearing the sound of the word "Buddha" unheard before amid the world's tumult, Mālinī rejoiced exceedingly to hear that he was even more distinguished than these men.

Mālinī then said, "Eat, and afterwards take food to your Master(**307**) *and invite the world's Saviour in my name."*

The Exalted One consented to eat on the morrow, along with his monks, in the chamber of the king's charming daughter.

Then the two chief disciples of the exalted Kāśyapa, namely

[1] Literally " whose selves were made-to-become " *bhāvitātmanān.*

Tiṣya[1] and Bhāradvāja, having partaken of Mālinī's food, hastened to Ṛṣivadana, taking some food with them for the exalted Kāśyapa. When they had proferred the bowl to the exalted Kāśyapa, they reverently greeted him in Mālinī's name. "Lord," said they, "the daughter of Kṛkī, king of Kāśi, sends her greeting to the Exalted One and his company of disciples and invites him and them to a meal on the morrow in the palace of King Kṛkī. Therefore, let the Exalted One out of his compassion consent."

The exalted Kāśyapa accepted the invitation for the sake of men ready to be trained.[2] And the men who had come with the great disciples, having thus secured the exalted Kāśyapa's consent, returned and informed Mālinī. "The exalted Kāśyapa," said they, "along with his company of monks, has accepted the invitation to eat with you to-morrow."

When Mālinī heard these men she stayed awake that night preparing plentiful food, both solid and soft, as it had been announced to her what time the exalted Kāśyapa would eat. For the Exalted One pays due regard to time, occasion, circumstance, individuals, and the difference between individuals.[3] Having dressed early the Exalted One took his alms-bowl and robe. And when evening, the time for desisting from the alms-round, was come, having taken his breakfast at Magadha,[4] he entered the city of Benares with twenty-thousand monks.

Buddhas make their entry into a city in the same formation as that of a flight of swans. On the right was the great disciple Tiṣya, on the left the great disciple Bhāradvāja. Behind them came four great disciples; behind these four came eight; behind the eight came sixteen; behind the sixteen came thirty-two, and behind the thirty-two came sixty-four.

And so the Exalted One, attended by twenty-thousand monks, **(308)** entered the palace of King Kṛkī. As he came

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[1] Pali *Tissa*. He was the Buddha's brother. He and Bhāradvāja are the two chief disciples of Kāśyapa (Kassapa) in the Pali texts also.

[2] *Vaineyavaśena*. See note p. 42.

[3] *Pudgalaparāparajña*. See note p. 4.

[4] *Māgadhe prātarāśe vartamāne*, literally, "the morning-meal being Magadhian"—a strange expression, and suspect for several reasons. In spite of the present tense of the participle, it has to be translated as though it were past. Besides, the Buddha is said to be at Ṛṣipatana, near Benares. Perhaps, there is an implication of his magic power of rapid motion, *i.e.* that he went from Ṛṣipatana to Magadha, breakfasted there, and was back again at Ṛṣipatana in the evening.

into the city, the depressions in the ground rose up so that the whole surface was on the same level. All unsightly rocks, gravel, and pebbles disappeared into the earth, leaving it covered with masses of flowers. Flowering trees blossomed; fruit-bearing trees bore fruit. The ponds in which lotuses had been sown, pools full of cool water on the right and on the left of the roadway, became covered with fragrant blue, white, and red lotuses. Water streamed from the mouths of wells. Horses neighed, bulls bellowed and elephants roared. At the same time Indra's column left its pedestal, and the whole city quaked. The blind saw; the deaf heard. The insane recovered their reason; the sick were healed, and women with child were safely delivered. The naked appeared clad, and the fetters of those in bondage were loosened. Jewels rattled in their caskets, and earthenware vessels clattered. All the seven-stringed lutes in the city, all the Indian lutes, all the mandolins, flutes, tabours, drums and cymbals, without any cause,[1] without being touched, gave forth music. Parrots, *śārikas*,[2] crows, swans, and peacocks all uttered their notes.

The Buddha walked without touching the ground for even as much as the width of four fingers, and yet the impress of the wheel-marks on his feet, complete with a thousand spokes, hub, and every part, was visible on the ground. In the sky devas played on thousands of celestial musical instruments and rained down celestial flowers.

The exalted Kāśyapa, with his company of disciples, in this manner and with all this splendour, effulgence, pomp and power, and honoured by devas and men, entered the palace of King Kṛikī. There, in the inner square room, the Exalted One was reverently served by Mālinī with plentiful and choice food, both solid and soft, of correct, (309) excellent, lasting, and most exquisite flavour.

When the Exalted One, with his company of disciples, had eaten, washed his hands, and put away his bowl, he instructed,

[1] *Asankhatāni*, the plural, if correct, of Pali *asankhata* (Sanskrit *asaṃskrita*), which, however, is used in the very special sense of "not put together, not proceeding from a cause," *e.g.* as epithet of *nibbāna*. Perhaps we should, therefore, read in our text *śankhāni*, "trumpets," a word often included in lists of musical instruments, *e.g.* in a practically identical passage on p. 235 of text above, where, however, it is masculine.

[2] See note p. 226.

roused, inspired and thrilled Mālinī with a talk on dharma. Then he rose up from his seat and departed.

All the twenty-thousand brāhmans who were the permanent guests of Kṛikī, king of Kāśi, were incensed when the Exalted One, with his company of disciples, was waited upon by Mālinī in the king's court with such great honour and respect. They called together the whole multitude of brāhmans, several thousands of them. At that time and on that occasion the whole land was over-ridden with brāhmans.

When they assembled the brāhmans were eager to put Mālinī to death. "For," said they, "she is a thorn in the side of the brāhmans in the king's court. King Kṛikī was devoted to the brāhmans, and twenty-thousand of them ate daily at his court, while Mālinī had been charged by her father to minister to the brāhmans in these words, 'Serve the brāhmans daily with food.' But she, disdaining the brāhmans, has introduced recluses into the king's court and has treated them with all this veneration and honour. She has served and honoured the recluses with the means of subsistence which was due to the brāhmans at the king's court."

The brāhmans, therefore, resolved to put Mālinī to death. Now it happened that at that time Kṛikī, king of Kāśi, had gone on a tour of inspection in the provinces. So the brāhmans sent a messenger to him to say: "Mālinī has developed a great contempt for the brāhmans. She has introduced Kāśyapa and his company of disciples into the king's court, and showed them all reverence and honour, but pays no regard to the brāhmans. She does not do as she was bidden by your majesty. The permanent sustenance which the twenty-thousand brāhmans had at the king's court is no longer forthcoming. Mālinī pays no regard to the brāhmans."

As soon as the king heard this he left the provinces,**(310)** and returned to Benares, where he saw several thousands of brāhmans assembled. He went to them, and they rose up to meet the king, greeting him with cries of "Victory to the king!" Then they told him all about Mālinī's conduct. "Your majesty," said they, "Mālinī here has become a thorn in the side of the brāhmans, and they will not be able to receive the king's hospitality until Mālinī is done away with. This is the unanimous resolve of the brāhman assembly. Your

majesty is devoted to the brāhmans, and you must give your consideration to this resolve of the brāhman assembly. If you are still attached to the brāhmans, then you will give up Mālinī. But if you do not give up Mālinī, then you are no longer attached to the brāhmans."

As the king was pondering this resolution of the brāhman assembly, he thought: "This land is full of brāhmans, over-ridden by them. If I do not give up Mālinī there will be a riot, and then neither Mālinī nor I will survive."

> *One should be ready to sacrifice one individual for the sake of a family, a family for the sake of a village, a village for the sake of a country, and a whole country for the sake of self.*

Thus it was that the king of Kāśi delivered up Mālinī, saying, "Let it be as the assembly of brāhmans wishes." The brāhmans replied, "Since Mālinī is to be given up, let his majesty give instructions accordingly."

Then the king, as he stood with the brāhmans outside the city, sent a messenger to go and fetch Mālinī. And the messenger reached the court with the king's orders. "Come, Mālinī," said he, "your father has given you up to the brāhmans, and they will put you to death."

Mālinī ran to her mother, while a cry rang through the whole palace. And the people of the city at the sound of that cry became distressed and bewildered. Great was the lamentation.

(311)Mālinī was taken by the messenger from Benares to the presence of her father. And when she had thus been taken by the messenger, she clung to her father and said, "Here, sire, is Mālinī." The king, sobbing and weeping, handed over Mālinī, thus sacrificed by a father, to the large concourse of brāhmans.

When Mālinī had been given up by her father to the will of the brāhmans, raising her joined hands she prostrated herself before the assembly of the brāhmans, and said, "I have one request to make, if the assembled brāhmans will grant it." The brāhmans replied, "Speak, what is your request?"

"I," replied she, "have been given up to you by my father, and am now in your power. And it is the brāhmans' resolve that Mālinī die. Now this is the request that I make of the

assembly of brāhmans, namely, that I be allowed to live for seven days in order to give largesse and thus perform a deed of merit. After all, I duly ministered to the brāhmans and tended them at my father's bidding. Then at the end of seven days put me to death, or do whatsoever is your pleasure."

The oldest among the brāhmans reflected: "Yes, this is as Mālinī says. For a long time she served and fed the brāhmans by her father's orders. But, afterwards, it was a wicked thought that arose in her when she turned away from the brāhmans and became devoted to the recluses. Now, when she is at liberty again, she will not deign to give more alms to the recluses, but for seven days will give them to the brāhmans instead. Therefore let her request be granted. Let her be set free for seven nights. On the seventh day she will be put to death."

Thus the cause which led the brāhmans to resolve to kill her turned out to be the cause of a renewed term of life for her. Her request was thus granted by the brāhmans. Mālinī said to herself, "Having gained a week's respite from the large mob of brāhmans, I must not be remiss and waste[1] the seven nights."

Free once more, and attended by a great crowd, she entered her father's court and appealed to him, saying, "I desire to spend these seven days in giving gifts and performing deeds of merit(**312**) wherever I wish." The king replied, "So be it, child. Do good wherever you wish." "I would invite to the court for seven days," said Mālinī, "the exalted Buddha Kāśyapa and his company of disciples." "As you please," answered the king.

Thus the exalted Kāśyapa with his company of disciples was invited to the king's court for seven days. Out of compassion the exalted Kāśyapa complied for the sake of men ready to be trained,[2] saying, "The great multitude will be converted."

The brāhmans were greatly enraged and designed to kill her in spite of the reprieve they had given her.[3] But Mālinī,

[1] *Vilupe*, from *vilumpati*, literally, "to tear away, rob, *etc.*," a unique use of this verb in the sense for which our text generally uses *kṣepayati*, a hybrid causative to be referred to the two roots *kṣip*, "to throw" and *kṣi*, "to destroy."

[2] *Vaineyavaśena*. See note p. 42.

[3] Literally "to kill her alive," *hanitum jīvantīm*.

raising her joined hands, beseeched them, saying, "Forbear for the seven days that I may give alms. A giver, O brāhmans, is but doing as you desire."

On the first of these seven days the Master with his company was entertained in the palace in the presence of Mālinī's mother and father. And the Master preached an edifying discourse to the king, who, as well as his court, won a clear[1] comprehension of dharma. On the second day Kāśyapa converted the king's five hundred sons, and on the third day their attendants. On the fourth day the Buddha converted the king's ministers. On the fifth day the Master established the army in the realisation of the first stage of the Way.[2] On the sixth day the Buddha converted the king's priest, and on the seventh day he led the townspeople to the "realisation of stream-winning."[3]

The king, delighted to see the Buddha and his company, invited the exalted Kāśyapa to partake of an excellent repast. And then, on the seventh day, when she saw that the exalted Kāśyapa had finished his meal and put away his bowl, Mālinī made a vow. "May I," said she, "reach the end of ill here and now. May I have a son like the exalted Kāśyapa who lives for the welfare of devas and men. Thus let my son, too, awake to the incomparable perfect enlightenment and live for the welfare of devas and men."

Mālinī(**313**) had a young brother named Aniyavanta.[4] He too made a vow, saying, "May I have a father like this exalted Kāśyapa here. May I make an end of ill here and now."

Thus the exalted Kāśyapa converted to the noble dharma Kṛikī, king of Kāśi, his court, his five hundred young sons, his ministers, his soldiers, and all the townspeople as well. And these thought to themselves: "Mālinī has been a good friend to us. Thanks[5] to her we have had a clear insight into dharma in all things. Her do the brāhmans intend to put to death. No, we shall sacrifice ourselves rather than give up Mālinī."

They communicated this resolve to the brāhmans. "Let

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[1] Literally "without hindrance or obstacle," *vinīvaraṇa*.

[2] *Prathamaphala*, "the first fruition."

[3] *Śrotāpattiphala*, "the fruit of entering upon the stream," See pp. 82, 138.

[4] Not in the Pali texts, where the only son of King Kṛikī to be named is Paṭhavindhara or Puthuvindhara. (*D.P.N.*)

[5] *Āgamya*. See note p. 198.

us go," said they, "along with Mālinī. She has been a good friend to us, and while we live you may not put her to death. But when none of us is left then you may kill her."

So in a great crowd including soldiers, and with Mālinī at their head, they left Benares and proceeded to the place where those thousands of brāhmans were. And when they saw the endless army coming with Mālinī, the brāhmans were sore afraid and terrified. They sent a messenger to the king, saying, "Let Mālinī this day go free. Let her whose punishment had been fixed[1] be reprieved and set free to go to her father's sight. It is not Mālinī who has offended us. It is Kāśyapa with his crowd who has offended us, and on him will we wreak our vengeance."

And the brāhmans sent ten armed conspirators with a thousand wiles at their command to Ṛiṣivadana, with instructions to kill Kāśyapa the recluse and his company of disciples. But the exalted Kāśyapa inspired them with friendliness and established them in the truths of the noble dharma. Then the brāhmans sent another twenty armed conspirators to kill Kāśyapa the recluse. These men came to Ṛiṣivadana with arms and weapons, but they, too, were inspired with friendliness by the Exalted One and established in the truths of the noble dharma.

In the same way (**314**) thirty, forty, and fifty men were sent, but all were inspired with friendliness by the exalted Kāśyapa and established in the truths of the noble dharma. Such is the Buddha's power of attraction. Through the Exalted One's power of attracting those amenable to conversion, all those who were amenable to the Buddha among those thousands of brāhmans and were sent to him, were established in the truths of the noble dharma by the Exalted One. And there remained but a few thousands who were still sunk in error.

Then those who had been converted to dharma thought: "These brāhmans do not know the Buddha's magnanimity. If they were to go to the exalted Kāśyapa they would derive great profit." So they sent a messenger to the brāhmans,

[1] Reading, on Senart's suggestion, *avadhṛitadaṇḍā*, "fixed punishment," for the first of the two *uddhṛitadaṇḍā's* ("lifted punishment") in this sentence. The second has been rendered "reprieved."

saying, "The exalted Kāśyapa, the Buddha, is magnanimous, full of great compassion, and bent on doing good in the world. Friends, do not be guilty of this crime of violence against Kāśyapa or even[1] against his community of monks. But, leaving conceit and pride behind you, come all of you to bow at the feet of the exalted Kāśyapa. Great will be the good you will derive therefrom."

The Buddha's kindly speech[2] is sincere, untinged with malice, beneficial,[3] pure, sweet to others, and apt.

The Buddha's kindly speech gives delight. It is not blustering,[4] but destroys the fires of evil. It is faultless and pleasant.

The Buddha's kindly speech is without impediment and defect. It is not untruthful, nor false, but truthful and apposite.

The speech of him who is infinitely wise is replete with the knowledge of what is to be known. It has no beginning nor end. It is inimitable. It has power over man, and is well-ordered.

He speaks the truth without malice. Ever is he kindly of heart to others.[5](**315**) *Rich in the highest good that brings blessing to men—such is this perfect eloquence.*

Penetrating and gushing[6] is his speech, in the high, the low and the middle tone, correct in measure and in sound, and pure—such is this perfect eloquence.

Wedded to perfect compassion and joy, wedded to the ten fruitions[7] is the speech that he utters. It has the eight quali-

[1] Reading °*antaśo* for °*antike*. So Senart. *Antaśa*: is Buddhist Sanskrit for Sanskrit * *antamaśah*, Pali *antamaso*, in same sense. The second and third forms are adverbial formations from the superlative *antama*, while the first is from the positive *anta*.

[2] For a similar description of the Buddha's voice see above p. 134.

[3] Literally, "is it not beneficial?" *naṃ ca arthavatī, naṃ ca* being interpreted, with Senart, as a form of *nanu ca*.

[4] *Nirvaṃhaṇī*, connected by Senart with Pali *vaṃha* (for *vambha*), "bragging, boasting, despising." See *Pali Dictionary*.

[5] Reading *paramaitracitta* for *punar maitra* of the text. So Senart.

[6] Restoring *galita* of MSS. for *gadita* of text, as Senart decides to do in his notes.

[7] This set of ten fruitions (*sc.* of the Path) do not seem to be referred to elsewhere, unless the reference is to the ten *balāni* of a Tathāgata. Miss I. B. Horner, in a communicated note, suggests that the ten fruitions may be the eight factors in the Ariyan way with the addition of *sammāñāṇa* and *sammāvimutti*, as at *A*. 5. 240 ff., and *D*. 2. 217.

ties and[1] *the four modes of the Buddha's voice—such is this perfect eloquence.*

The speech that he utters has the five good qualities. Full of conviction is it, and dispelling doubt. No evil at all does it work. Such is the nature of the supreme of men.

A nature endowed with excellent qualities, which rules the great host of light. Renouncing the fair treasure of kith and kin it goes forth to larger joy.

When she saw the complete transfiguration of him who was preparing to win the source of immortality, the best of trees of incomparable fragrance, Nanda's daughter[2] *boiled him gruel of rice.*

(316)*Thus do these men of inferior understanding revile Kāśyapa the seer, the eloquent preacher, the irreproachable, the sterling*[3] *man who does not transgress.*

Him, the sinless, do these men revile, him who is tranquil, who has abandoned sin, who rejoices in the falling off of the fetters of existence, who is calm and well-controlled in mind.

We, monks and faithful laymen, who have great joy in Kāśyapa's teaching, gather here to adore him, the burning, fiery flame.

He, the supreme of two-footed creatures, is a giver of insight; he is a guide. Putting off pride and conceit we gather here to adore Kāśyapa.

The brāhmans, however, were in the class of those who are

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[1] These eight qualities of the Buddha's voice, to which Senart could find no reference, are described at *D.* 2. 211, as follows: (*saro hoti*) *vissaṭṭho ca viññeyyo ca mañju ca saranīyo ca bindu ca avisārī ca gambhīro ca ninnādi*, "fluent, intelligible, sweet, audible, continuous, distinct, deep, and resonant." For other references see *Pali Dictionary* (s.v. *aṭṭhanga*). But there does not seem to be any reference elsewhere to the four modes (*prakārās*) of the Buddha's voice nor to the set of five qualities referred to below, unless the latter are the five first ones in the pairs of *vacanapatha* at *M.* 1. 126.

[2] Senart refers this passage to the episode of Nanda's daughter feeding the Buddha in the forest. The following stanzas then relate to the vituperation of the Buddha or bodhisattva on that occasion by the five monks, who were incensed at his abandoning the practice of austerities. (*Lal. Vist.* 331.) But it must be remembered that in *Bu A.* 263 his wife Sunandā is said to have given Kāśyapa rice-gruel just before his enlightenment, and the allusion to Kāśyapa's transfiguration in our text would seem to imply that the reference is to that incident and that Nandajātā (Nanda's daughter) and Sunandā are identical. In either case the verses are an interpolation as far as the story of Mālinī is concerned.

[3] *Puruṣājānīya*, "a noble steed of a man." See p. 185.

fixed in wrongfulness,[1] and even if a thousand Buddhas were to preach dharma to them, they would be incapable of understanding it and of believing in the Buddha, the dharma and the Sangha.

Armed with sticks and cudgels they rushed on the exalted Kāśyapa. The Exalted One called up the goddess of earth,[2] and she, by her own power, appeared and stood as tall as a palm-tree in front of Kāśyapa. He spoke to her, saying, "Who are these brāhmans here?" "These," she replied, "are mine, the earth-bound[3] slaves of the goddess of earth." The Exalted One said to her, "Deal with them, therefore, as slaves are wont to be dealt with."

Then the goddess, plucking up the trunk of a big palm-tree(**317**) by its roots, advanced against the brāhmans and brought it heavily to the ground. Thus the terrified brāhmans were utterly destroyed.

Here ends the story of Mālinī in the *Mahāvastu-Avadāna.*

GHATIKĀRA AND JYOTIPĀLA

Thus have I heard. On one occasion the Exalted One was touring in Kośala, accompanied by a large crowd of five-hundred monks. He came on a visit to Mārakaraṇḍa,[4] a town of Kośala, and sojourned there in a forest grove.

One evening the Exalted One emerged from his seclusion and left his sojourning-place. He looked up, he looked to the ten quarters, and he looked down. With his gaze on the level ground he smiled, and walked on a long way.

Now the venerable Ānanda saw him doing all this,[5] and when

[1] Reading *mithyātvaniyatarāśī* for *niyatva°*, so as to make the word identical with the name of one of the three *rāśis*, two of which are referred to above p. 138, and all the three at 3. 318 (text).

[2] Another interesting sidelight on the relations between Buddhism and primitive belief. With this may be compared the incident of a yakṣa (*yakkha vajirapāṇin* = Śakra = Indra) appearing from below the ground to confirm the Buddha's words to Saccaka the Jain. *M.* 1. 231. (The translator is indebted for this reference to Miss I. B. Horner.)

[3] Reading, with Senart and as the context seems to require, *°niśritā* for *°nisritā*.

[4] Called *Vehalinga* (v.l. *Vekalinga, Vebhalinga*) in the Pali texts, which may correspond to its earlier name of Veruḍinga. (See below p. 267.) The Pali texts, however, do not seem to mention the newer name of Mārakaraṇḍa.

[5] The text repeats the narration of the actions in detail.

he had seen it he repaired to where the large body of monks was, and said to them, "Behold, the Buddha, the Exalted One, emerged from his seclusion in the evening, and left his sojourning-place. He looked up, he looked to the ten quarters, and he looked down. And now with his gaze on the level ground he is taking a long walk, with a smile on his face. Now brethren, Tathāgatas, Arhans, and Buddhas do not smile without reason or cause. What if, brethren, we were now to go to the Exalted One and ask him the meaning of this? As the Exalted One will explain it, so will we believe."

"So be it, O venerable one," assented the monks.

Then the venerable Ānanda with those monks went to the Exalted One, and, after bowing at his feet, stood to one side. As he thus stood on one side the venerable Ānanda(**318**) said to the Exalted One, "Behold, I saw the Exalted One emerging from his seclusion at evening and leaving his sojourning-place. He looked up; he looked down; he looked to the ten quarters, and then with his gaze fixed on the level ground he walked a long way, with a smile on his face. Now, Tathāgatas, Arhans, and Buddhas do not smile without cause or reason. Lord, what is the reason, what is the cause of thy smiling?"

When this had been said, the Exalted One replied to the venerable Ānanda, "You see that plot of ground, Ānanda?"

"Yes, Lord."

"That plot of ground, Ānanda, was the site of the exalted Kāśyapa's retreat.[1]

"You see that plot of ground, Ānanda?"

"Yes, Lord."

"That plot of ground, Ānanda, was the site of the exalted Kāśyapa's hut.

"You see that plot of ground, Ānanda?"

"Yes, Lord."

"That plot of ground, Ānanda, was the site of the exalted Kāśyapa's cloister.[2]

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[1] The text has *āgama*, which is obviously to be emended into *ārāma*.

[2] The text has *cankramaṣaṣṭi*. *Ṣaṣṭi* is obviously corrupt as there can be no question of sixty cloisters or terraced walks. Senart suggests *bhūmi*, "site," to correspond with the *vastu* of the other terms. Miss I. B. Horner, in a letter to the translator, makes the more plausible suggestion that the reading should be *cankramaśālā*, "hall for pacing up and down," corresponding with *cankamanasālā* at *V*. I. 139.

"You see that plot of ground, Ānanda?"

"Yes, Lord."

"On that plot of ground, Ānanda, were the seats of the three Tathāgatas, Arhans and Buddhas, the exalted Krakucchanda, the exalted Kanakamuni, and the exalted Kāśyapa."

Then the venerable Ānanda, amazed, astonished, stirred and thrilled, went in a very great hurry to that plot of ground and folded his robe in four. Raising his joined hands to the Exalted One he said to him, "Let the Exalted One sit here[1] as on an appointed seat. Then will this plot of ground have been made use of by four Tathāgatas, Arhans, and Buddhas, by the exalted Krakucchanda, by the exalted Kanakamuni, by the exalted Kāśyapa, and now by thee. Let the Exalted One, therefore, sit down as on an appointed seat."

And the venerable Ānanda, having bowed at the feet of the Exalted One (**319**) sat down on one side. The monks, too, having bowed at the feet of the Exalted One sat down on one side. To Ānanda thus seated on one side the Exalted One said, "Would you like, Ānanda, to hear from the Tathāgata an instructive tale relating to a former existence of his which is connected with this town of Mārakaraṇḍa?"

When this had been said, the venerable Ānanda replied, "Now is the time, Lord, now is the occasion, Sugata, to tell this tale which will be profitable to the monks. For the monks, having heard it from the lips of the Exalted One, having grasped it from the lips of the Exalted One, will hold it for truth."

Then the Exalted One said to the venerable Ānanda:—

Once upon a time, Ānanda, in the time of the exalted Kāśyapa, this town of Mārakaraṇḍa was a brāhman village called Veruḍinga.[2] Now in this brāhman village of Veruḍinga there lived a potter named Ghaṭikāra,[3] who was a servant of the exalted Kāśyapa. Ghaṭikāra the potter had a young brāhman friend named Jyotipāla, companion and playmate[4]

[1] *I.e.* on the robe.

[2] See above p. 265.

[3] The story of Ghaṭikāra and Jyotipāla is given also in the *Ghaṭīkāra Sutta* at *M.* 2. 45 ff., while references to them are made in *J.* 1. 43, *Bu.* XXV, 10, *S.* 1. 34 f., and *Miln.* 222.

[4] Literally, "with whom he played at making mud-pies," *sahapāṃśukrīḍanaka.*

of his youth, dear to him and beloved, who was the son of a brāhman of good birth.[1]

Now, Ānanda, the exalted Kāśyapa happened to be touring in Kośala along with a great company of seven thousand monks. He came on a visit to the brāhman village of Veruḍinga in Kośala, and stayed there in the forest grove. Ghaṭikāra the potter heard that the exalted Kāśyapa while touring in Kośala had come on a visit to the brāhman village of Veruḍinga and was staying there in a certain forest grove. He went then to the young brāhman Jyotipāla and said to him, "I have heard, my dear[2] Jyotipāla, that the exalted Kāśyapa in the course of his tour of Kośala, along with his company of seven thousand monks, has come on a visit to the brāhman village of Veruḍinga, (**320**) and is staying there in a certain forest grove. My dear Jyotipāla, what if we were to go to the exalted Kāśyapa and see, adore, and honour him?"

When this had been said, the young brāhman Jyotipāla replied to Ghaṭikāra the potter, "Look here, Ghaṭikāra, what have I to do with these shaveling ascetics that I should go and see them and do them honour?" Twice and thrice, Ānanda, did Ghaṭikāra the potter speak thus to the young brāhman Jyotipāla [and each time the latter replied][3] "What have I to do with these shaveling ascetics that I should go and see them and do them honour?"

Then, Ānanda, Ghaṭikāra the potter considered what means there might be by which the young brāhman Jyotipāla should be induced to go to the exalted Kāśyapa, to see and honour him. And this is what he thought of.

Not far from that forest grove is a lotus-pond called Sumukā. "What if I and the young brāhman Jyotipāla," thought he, "were to go and bathe our heads in the lotus-pond Sumukā?" So he went to him and said, "My dear Jyotipāla, let us go and bathe our heads in the lotus-pond Sumukā."

When this had been said, the young brāhman Jyotipāla

[1] *Ajanya* for *ājanya*, which corresponds to Pali *ājañña*, the contracted form of *ājanīya*, Skt. *ājāneya*. Cf. note p. 185.

[2] *Samyag*, a form due to faulty Sanskritisation of Pali *samma* (which some relate to Sanskrit *saumya*, "my friend"), through confusion with Pali *sammā*, "perfect" which regularly gives Sanskrit *samyag*. For other suggested etymologies see Andersen: *Pali Reader*, s.v.

[3] Lacuna in text.

replied to Ghaṭikāra the potter, "Well then, Ghaṭikāra, let it be as you wish."[1]

Then, Ānanda, Ghaṭikāra the potter, taking his bathing-mantle, and accompanied by the young brāhman Jyotipāla, went to the lotus-pond to bathe. After bathing, the young brāhman Jyotipāla stood on the bank tidying his hair. And Ghaṭikāra the potter said to the young brāhman Jyotipāla, "My dear Jyotipāla, the exalted Kāśyapa is actually in the forest grove here. What if we were to go, my dear Jyotipāla, to the exalted Kāśyapa to see and honour him?"

When this had been said, the young brāhman Jyotipāla **(321)** answered, "Look here, Ghaṭikāra, what have I to do with these ascetics that I should go and see them and do them honour?"

Then, Ānanda, Ghaṭikāra the potter seized the young brāhman Jyotipāla by the neck, and said to him, "My dear Jyotipāla, the exalted Kāśyapa is actually in the forest-grove here. Let us go to the exalted Kāśyapa to see him and to do him honour." But the young brāhman Jyotipāla pushed him off and went his way.

Ghaṭikāra the potter hurried after him, and, seizing him by his braided hair, said to him, "My dear Jyotipāla, the exalted Kāśyapa is actually staying in the forest grove here. Let us go to the exalted Kāśyapa to see him and do him honour."

Then, venerable Ānanda, Jyotipāla thought, "It cannot be without reason that Ghaṭikāra the potter should seize me by the hair as I come from washing my head, although I resist him, and although he is of low birth." So he said, "Well then, Ghaṭikāra, let it be as you wish."

Thus, Ānanda, Ghaṭikāra the potter along with the young brāhman Jyotipāla went to the exalted Kāśyapa, and, having bowed at his feet, stood to one side. And as he thus stood on one side, Ghaṭikāra the potter said to the exalted Kāśyapa, "Lord, this young brāhman Jyotipāla was the friend of my boyhood and my playmate. He is dear to me and beloved.

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[1] *Sukhī bhava yasyedāni kālam manyase*, literally "be lucky in what you think it is time now (to do)." Cf. Pali *yassa kālam maññasi*, rendered in *Pali Dictionary* by "good-bye." But the context and the presence of *sukhī bhava* in our phrase require some translation like that given above.

He is the son of a brāhman of good birth. Teach him, Lord, and instruct him."

And so, Ānanda, the Exalted One initiated the young brāhman Jyotipāla in the three refuges[1] and in the five precepts.[2] But Jyotipāla said to the exalted Kāśyapa, "Lord, I am not yet prepared to be initiated in all the five precepts, for there is a troublesome and ill-tempered man whom I must put to death."

When this had been said, the Exalted One asked, "Who, Jyotipāla, is this troublesome and ill-tempered man whom you must put to death?" (322) Jyotipāla replied, "Lord, it is this Ghaṭikāra the potter here. He seized me by the hair just as I was coming from bathing my head. And then he said, 'Let us go to the exalted Kāśyapa to see him and do him honour'."

. . .[3]

"Let it be, sir, as Ghaṭikāra the potter wishes. I am now prepared to be initiated in the five precepts."

Then, Ānanda, the exalted Kāśyapa exhorted Ghaṭikāra the potter and the young brāhman Joytipāla, instructing, rousing, gladdening, thrilling and inciting them with a discourse on dharma. Then Ghaṭikāra the potter and the young brāhman Jyotipāla bowed at the feet of the exalted Kāśyapa and went their way.

Before they had gone far the young brāhman Jyotipāla said to Ghaṭikāra the potter, "I say, Ghaṭikāra, you know the perfect dharma taught by the exalted Kāśyapa just as well as I do." Ghaṭikāra answered,[4] "Yes, my dear Jyotipāla. I know the perfect dharma taught by the exalted Kāśyapa just as you do." Jyotipāla asked, "Why then, Ghaṭikāra, do you not go forth from home into the homeless state with the exalted Kāśyapa?" Ghaṭikāra replied, "My dear Jyotipāla, I have aged parents whose sight is failing, and there

[1] *I.e.*, Buddha, dharma and Sangha.

[2] *Śikṣāpadāni*, Pali *sikkhāpadāni*, five rules or precepts enjoining the *śīlas* or points of good conduct. (See p. 168.)

[3] There is an evident lacuna here of a passage in which Jyotipāla finishes his account of his friend's conduct, and the latter, or Kāśyapa, by some means or other mollifies him.

[4] In this interlocution, as on a few other occasions, the introductory phrase *evamukte, Ānanda*, "when this was said, Ānanda," is omitted in translation, in order to avoid close repetition of the same words.

is no one else but me to look after them. That is why I do not embrace the religious life with the exalted Kāśyapa."

Not long afterwards, Ānanda, the young brāhman Jyotipāla, becoming dissatisfied with his home life turned his thoughts to the religious life. He went to Ghaṭikāra the potter and said to him, " Come, my dear Ghaṭikāra,(**323**) I am going to express to the exalted Kāśyapa my resolve to take up the religious life, and I shall go forth from home into the homeless state."

So Ghaṭikāra the potter repaired with the young brāhman Jyotipāla to the exalted Kāśyapa, and, having bowed at his feet, stood to one side. And as he thus stood on one side, Ghaṭikāra the potter said to the exalted Kāśyapa, " Lord, this young brāhman Jyotipāla was the friend of my boyhood and my playmate. He is dear to me and beloved, and is the son of a brāhman of good birth. Ordain him, Lord, and admit him to the community."

Then, Ānanda, the exalted Kāśyapa addressed his monks, saying, " Monks, ordain and admit the young brāhman Jyotipāla." And the monks ordained him.

Shortly after the admission of Jyotipāla as monk, the exalted Kāśyapa left Kośala and went touring in Kāśi. And, venerable Ānanda, as the exalted Kāśyapa was touring in Kāśi with his great company of seven thousand monks, he made for and reached the Kāśi city of Benares, and stayed at Ṛiṣivadana in the Deer Park. King Kṛikī heard that the exalted Kāśyapa was touring in Kāśi with a great company of seven thousand monks and had made for and reached the Kāśi city of Benares, and was staying at Ṛiṣivadana in the Deer Park.

Then, Ānanda, Kṛikī, king of Kāśi, instructed a certain man, saying, " Go, man, to the exalted Kāśyapa and greet him in my name, and say, ' Kṛikī, king of Kāśi bows at the feet of the exalted Kāśyapa and inquires after his health, well-being, strength, ease, and comfort. He invites him and his company of monks to eat at his house on the morrow, if the exalted Kāśyapa will consent."

When this had been said, Ānanda,[1] the exalted Kāśyapa replied to the man, " It shall be as Kṛikī(**324**) king of Kāśi,

[1] There is a lacuna here representing the repetition of the king's message to Kāśyapa.

his son and his court wish."[1] And when the man had ascertained the Exalted One's consent, he returned to Benares, went to King Kṛikī and said to him, "Your majesty, I saluted the exalted Kāśyapa in your name. I inquired after his health, well-being, ease, strength, and comfort, and invited him and his company of disciples to a meal to-morrow. The exalted Kāśyapa complies with your wish."

Then, Ānanda, Kṛikī, king of Kāśi, spent that night preparing a plentiful supply of choice food, solid and soft. And when the night was past he bade a man go to the exalted Kāśyapa and say to him, "Lord, it is time to eat at the house of Kṛikī, king of Kāśi, and we await the Exalted One's pleasure."[2] The man, saying "So be it, your majesty," in obedience to Kṛikī, king of Kāśi, left the city of Benares and went to the Deer Park at Ṛiṣivadana. And when he had come to the exalted Kāśyapa and bowed at his feet, he said to him, "Lord, it is time to eat at the house of Kṛikī, king of Kāśi, and we await our lord's pleasure."

When the exalted Kāśyapa heard the man, he dressed betimes, took his alms-bowl and robe, and, attended and honoured by his monks, set out for the city of Benares.

Now, Ānanda, at that time Kṛikī, king of Kāśi, accompanied by his sons and ministers was standing at the door of his palace, looking out for the approach of the exalted Kāśyapa and his company of disciples. When they were yet a long way off he saw them, and, having seen them, he went to meet the exalted Kāśyapa and his company of disciples. He bowed at their feet and led them in great honour(**325**) to his palace.

At that time, Ānanda, the palace of Kṛikī, king of Kāśi, had a terrace called Kokanada.[3] It was new, having but recently been completed, and had not been used before by any recluse or brāhman. And Kṛikī, king of Kāśi, said to the exalted

[1] *Sukhī bhavatu Kṛikī . . . yasya dāni kālam manyase*, a modification of the phrase noted above, p. 269. Note that *bhavatu* is 3rd and *manyase* is 2nd person. Literally, "Good luck to Kṛikī in what you think it is time now (to do)." But as the messenger represents the king the change of person does not materially affect the idiom.

[2] *Yasya dāni bhagavan kālam manyasi*. See p. 269.

[3] For the name compare *Kokanada*, "Lotus," the name of the newly built palace of Bodhirājakumāra, to which he invited the Buddha. According to Buddhaghosa, it was so called because it was built in the form of a hanging lotus. (*D.P.N.*)

Kāśyapa, " Here, at my house, Lord, I have a new terrace called Kokanada, but recently finished and not used yet by any recluse or brāhman. Let the Exalted One be the first to use it, and when he has used it, then we shall afterwards make use of it."

When this had been said, the exalted Kāśyapa replied to Kṛikī, king of Kāśi, " Be it as you wish."[1]

So, King Kṛikī arranged seats on the terrace which was called Kokanada, and had solid and soft food served out. And the Exalted One mounted the terrace Kokanada and sat down, he and his disciples each on the seat assigned to him. With his own hands Kṛikī, king of Kāśi, regaled and served the exalted Kāśyapa with solid and soft food, while seven men waited on each member of the company with seven kinds of dishes and with *parṇakulaka*[2] rice.

When Kṛikī, king of Kāśi, saw that the exalted Kāśyapa had finished his meal, washed his hands and put away his bowl, he took a low stool, and going up to the exalted Kāśyapa, he bowed at his feet and sat down to one side. And as he thus sat down on one side, Ānanda, he said to the exalted Kāśyapa, " May it please the Exalted One to reside at Benares for the rainy season. I, Lord, shall have a retreat made, and in it seven thousand gabled buildings, seven thousand seats, seven thousand paths, and seven thousand horses. And I shall appoint seven thousand park attendants who will individually serve each one of the brotherhood. With a service of this kind they shall wait upon the Exalted One and his company of monks."

When this had been said, **(326)** Ānanda, the exalted Kāśyapa replied to Kṛikī, king of Kāśi, " No, your majesty, it is not possible for me to spend the rainy season among the Vajjis."[3]

A second and a third time did Kṛikī make the same request and Kāśyapa the same reply.[4]

And, Ānanda, when Kṛikī, king of Kāśi, saw that the

[1] *Sukhī bhava*, etc. See above p. 272.

[2] It cannot be known what particular sort of rice is meant here, as the word is otherwise unknown. But the reading is confirmed by the occurrence of the same word on p. 329, where all the MSS. are agreed as to the reading.

[3] See note p. 219.

[4] Literally " This (passage) is to be repeated a second and a third time, *dvitīyaṃ pi tritīyaṃ evameva kartavyam.*

exalted Kāśyapa would not consent to stay in Benares for the rainy season he cried and wept. And he asked the exalted Kāśyapa, "Has the Lord any other servant such as me?"

The exalted Kāśyapa replied[1] to Kṛikī, king of Kāśi, "Indeed, your majesty, you are an imperfect servant of mine." King Kṛikī then asked, "Who, Lord, is a more satisfactory and perfect servant than I?" The exalted Kāśyapa replied, "In your domain, O great king, there is a brāhman village called Veruḍinga. There lives a servant of mine, Ghaṭikāra." King Kṛikī asked, "What manner of wealth has Ghaṭikāra with which he has served the Exalted One and his community?"

The exalted Kāśyapa replied, "Your majesty, Ghaṭikāra the potter has all his life abstained from murder; all his life he has abstained from theft; all his life he has abstained from immorality; all his life he has abstained from false speech; all his life he has abstained from intoxication by strong spirits, rum and wine; all his life he has abstained from dance, music and song; all his life he has abstained from the use of scents, garlands, and cosmetics; all his life he has abstained from lying on high and large beds; all his life he has abstained from taking food at the wrong time;[2] and all his life he has abstained from hoarding gold and silver.

"Ghaṭikāra the potter, your majesty, does not dig up earth himself.[3] But wherever there are heaps of earth thrown up by mice or washed down or (**327**) scooped out by water, it is there that he takes his earth and makes it into pots. These he sets down on the cross-roads, and those people who want pots pay for them by putting down in their place a measure of kidney-beans, or beans, or rice. They take the pots with them without more ado, and go their way.

"Such, your majesty, is the wealth of Ghaṭikāra the potter wherewith he serves the Tathāgata and his community. And his parents are infirm, aged and blind. There was one occasion, your majesty, when I was staying in the brāhman village of Veruḍinga. One morning, I dressed early, took my alms-bowl and robe and went round the brāhman village of

[1] *Evamukte Ānanda*, "when this had been said, Ananda," is omitted in the rest of this dialogue.

[2] *I.e.* "in the afternoon." The correction of *vikāra*, which makes no sense, into *vikāla*, is imperative here, although Senart does not remark on it.

[3] *I.e.*, for fear of harming animal life.

Veruḍinga begging for alms. And as I was making my way systematically[1] through the village in quest of alms, I came to the house of Ghaṭikāra the potter and stopped there. Now at that time Ghaṭikāra the potter was absent from home, but his parents said to the Tathāgata, ' Lord, thy servant is gone out, but in the store-loft there is curry and rice-gruel. Let the Exalted One help himself thereto.' And I, your majesty, accepted the curry and rice-gruel from the kindly folk,[2] ate them and went my way.

" Then Ghaṭikāra the potter returned home, and saw that the curry and rice-gruel in the store-loft had been partaken of. When he saw this he asked his parents. ' Father,' said he, ' who has helped himself to the curry and rice-gruel in the store-loft of Ghaṭikāra ? ' His parents replied, ' Son, it was the exalted Kāśyapa.'

" Then, your majesty, Ghaṭikāra the potter reflected, ' Now great is my gain and well-won in that the exalted Kāśyapa, even in my absence[3] has shown me exceeding great trust.' And joy and gladness did not leave him for a fortnight, nor his infirm, aged and blind parents for a week.

(328)" There was another occasion, your majesty, when the Tathāgata had not enough straw to roof his hut in the woods. I bade the monks to go and fetch straw from the house of Ghaṭikāra the potter. And the monks went.

" Now at that time again, your majesty, Ghaṭikāra the potter was away from home. The monks saw no straw there, but they did see the new roof of the potter's workshop. So they returned to the Tathāgata, bowed at his feet and said to him, ' Lord, thy servant is absent from home, nor is there any straw there. But his workshop has a new roof.'

" When this had been said, the Tathāgata said to his monks, ' Go, monks, to the house of Ghaṭikāra the potter, and strip the straw off the new roof of his workshop and bring it here.' And the monks went to the house of Ghaṭikāra the potter and stripped off the straw on the new roof of his workshop.

" The parents of Ghaṭikāra the potter asked the monks,

[1] Literally " part by part," *sāvadānam*, see p. 250.
[2] *Devatāhi*.
[3] Literally, " even (when he was) alone," *yāvadeko*, but the reading is doubtful.

'Who is it that strips off the straw from the new roof of Ghaṭikāra the potter's workshop?' The monks answered them, 'Good folk, since there is not enough straw for the roof of the hut of the exalted Kāśyapa and his monks, this straw is being taken there.' Ghaṭikāra the potter's parents then said to the monks, 'Take it, take it for your own.'

"Then, your majesty, Ghaṭikāra the potter returned home. He saw that the straw had been taken away from the new roof of his workshop, and when he had seen this he questioned his parents. 'Father,' said he, 'who (329) has stripped the straw off the new roof of Ghaṭikāra the potter's workshop?' His parents replied, 'Son, the exalted Kāśyapa had not enough straw for his hut in the woods, and the monks have taken your straw there.'

"Then, your majesty, Ghaṭikāra the potter reflected, 'Now great is my gain and well-won in that the exalted Kāśyapa even in my absence[1] has again shown me exceeding great trust.' Joy and gladness did not leave him for a whole month, nor his blind parents for a fortnight.

"I am sure, your majesty, that Ghaṭikāra the potter would not take as much umbrage as you do because the exalted Kāśyapa does not consent to stay for the rainy season in the city of Benares."

Then, Ānanda, Kṛikī, king of Kāsi, reflected, "Great is my gain and well-won in that such a holy man dwells in my realm. For men are fields wherein one may win merit."[2] So Kṛikī, the king of Kāśi, sent to Ghaṭikāra the potter seven cartloads of *parṇakula* rice, fresh water, sesamum oil, salt and cooked food.

Then, Ānanda, Kāśyapa taught, roused, gladdened, and thrilled Kṛikī, king of Kāśi, with a discourse on dharma. And rising from his seat he went his way.

Then, Ānanda, the exalted Kāśyapa, after finishing his meal on his return from the alms-round, said to his monks, "Sit down together, monks, and cross your legs, as I am doing. I shall not uncross them until the hearts of all the seven

[1] *Yāvadeko*, see p. 275.

[2] *Puṇyakṣetrāṇi*. Cf. *D*. 3. 5, of the *sangha* or community, *anuttaraṃ puñña-kkhettaṃ lokassāti*, "for it is the world's unsurpassed field for (sowing) merit."

thousand monks seated on these couches are completely rid of the *āśravas*."

"So be it, Lord," said the monks in obedience to the exalted Kāśyapa. And they sat down together crossing their legs.

Afterwards, Ānanda, this mental reflection arose in the monk Jyotipāla as he was meditating in solitude and seclusion : (330)"Ah, may I in some future time become a Tathāgata, an Arhan, a perfect Buddha, endowed with knowledge and virtue, a Sugata, an unsurpassed knower of the world, a driver of tameable men, and a teacher of devas and men. And after gaining experience of this world, of the world beyond, of the worlds of devas, of Māra, of brāhmans and recluses, and of the offspring of devas and men, then may I here in the Deer Park at Ṛiṣivadana near Benares set rolling the wheel of dharma that is twelve-fold and that can not be rolled by recluse, brāhman, deva, Māra or anyone else. Reborn in the world again, together with dharma, may I thus teach the dharma that is endowed with and altogether perfect in all good qualities, as this exalted Kāśyapa now does. Thus may devas and men deem me worthy to hearken to and believe in, as they now do the exalted Kāśyapa. May I become all this for the welfare and happiness of mankind, out of compassion for the world, for the sake of the great multitude, for the welfare and happiness of devas and men. May the hosts of asuras dwindle ; may the hosts of devas wax great."[1]

Now, Ānanda, the exalted Kāśyapa, becoming aware of such a mental reflection on the part of the monk Jyotipāla, told a certain monk to go to the monk Jyotipāla and say to him, "Your master calls you, venerable Jyotipāla. Come to the Tathāgata." In obedience to the exalted Kāśyapa that monk went to the monk Jyotipāla and said to him, "Venerable Jyotipāla, your master calls you. Come to the Exalted One." "So be it, venerable sir," said the venerable Jyotipāla, and in obedience to the monk, he went to the exalted Kāśyapa, bowed at his feet and sat down to one side.

And as the venerable monk Jyotipāla thus sat down on one side, the exalted Kāśyapa said to him, "Jyotipāla, did not this mental reflection arise in Jyotipāla as he was meditating in solitude and seclusion ? :—'May I in some future time become

[1] See note p. 37.

a Tathāgata, an Arhan, a perfect Buddha, endowed with knowledge and virtue, a Sugata, (**331**) an unsurpassed knower of the world, a driver of tameable men, and a teacher of devas and men. And after gaining experience of this world, of the world beyond, of the worlds of devas, Māra, brāhmans, and recluses, and of the offspring of devas and men, then may I here in the Deer Park at Ṛiṣivadana near Benares, set rolling the wheel of dharma which is thrice-revolved and twelve-fold[1] and may not be rolled by recluse, brāhman, deva, Māra, Brahmā or any one else. Reborn in the world again, together with dharma, may I thus teach the dharma that is endowed with and altogether perfect in good qualities, as this exalted Kāśyapa now does. Thus may I preserve in harmony a community of monks as the exalted Kāśyapa now does. Thus may devas and men deem me worthy to hearken to and believe in, as they now do the exalted Kāśyapa. May I become all this for the welfare and happiness of mankind, out of compassion for the world, for the sake of the great multitude, for the welfare and happiness of devas and men. May the hosts of asuras dwindle; may the hosts of devas wax great '."

When this had been said, Ānanda, the monk Jyotipāla replied to the exalted Kāśyapa, "It was so, Lord." Then the exalted Kāśyapa said to the monk Jyotipāla, "Therefore, Jyotipāla, give to the community of monks, with the Buddha at their head, this seat of gold and a suit of garments. For when you have performed this meritorious deed,[2] devas and men will deem you worthy to hearken to and believe in."

So, Ānanda, (**332**) the monk Jyotipāla gave a golden seat and a suit of garments to the community of monks, with the Buddha at their head. Then the exalted Kāśyapa smiled, and proclaimed of the monk Jyotipāla, "You, O Jyotipāla, in some future time will become a Tathāgata, an Arhan, a perfect Buddha, endowed with knowledge and virtue, a Sugata, an unsurpassed knower of the world, a driver of tameable men, and a teacher of devas and men. Having gained experience of this world and the world beyond, of the worlds of devas, Māra and Brahmā, of the race of brāhmans, recluses, devas

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[1] The wheel, to which these epithets are applicable, is the symbol of dhamma or the teaching of it. *Cf.* p. 279 and p. 280, and *S.* 5. 422.

[2] Reading, on Senart's suggestion, *kṛitapuṇyasyate* for *kṛitapuṇyāste*.

and men, here in the Deer Park at Ṛiṣivadana, near Benares, you will set rolling the wheel of dharma that is thrice-revolved and twelve-fold, and may not be rolled[1] by recluse, brāhman, deva, Māra, or by anyone else. Reborn in the world again, together with dharma, thus will you teach the dharma that is endowed with and altogether perfect in all good qualities, as the exalted Kāśyapa now does. Thus will you preserve in harmony a community of disciples even as the exalted Kāśyapa now does. Thus will devas and men deem you worthy to hearken to and believe in as they do now the exalted Kāśyapa. You will become all this for the welfare and happiness of mankind, out of compassion for the world, for the sake of the multitude, and for the welfare and happiness of devas and men. The hosts of asuras will dwindle; the hosts of the devas will wax great."

Then, Ānanda, when this had been proclaimed of Jyotipāla by the exalted Kāśyapa, the devas of earth cried, "Ho! friends, it has been proclaimed by the exalted Kāśyapa of this monk who is named Jyotipāla, that in some future time he will become a Tathāgata, an Arhan, a perfect Buddha, endowed with knowledge and virtue, a Sugata, an unsurpassed knower of the world, a driver of tameable men, and a teacher of devas and men. After gaining experience of this world and the world beyond, of the worlds of devas, Māra, Brahmā, and of the race of recluses, brāhmans, devas, and men, he will here in the Deer Park at Ṛiṣivadana, near Benares, set rolling the wheel of dharma that is thrice-revolved and twelve-fold, and may not be rolled by recluse, brāhman, deva(**333**) Māra, Brahmā or by any one else. Reborn in the world again, together with dharma, thus will he teach the dharma that is endowed with and altogether perfect in all good qualities, as the exalted Kāśyapa now does. He will become all this for the welfare and happiness of mankind, out of compassion for the world, for the sake of the great multitude, for the welfare and happiness of devas and men. The hosts of asuras will dwindle; the hosts of devas will wax great."

This cry of the devas of earth was heard by the Cāturmahā-

[1] Text here has *apravartitam*, "that has not been rolled," but this has been emended into *apravartiyam*, which is the form used in the corresponding passages above. Similarly *aparivartitam* on the same page, below, has been emended into *aparivartiyam*.

rājaka devas, the Trāyastriṁśa devas, the Yāma devas, the Tuṣita devas, the Nirmāṇarati devas and the Paranirmitavaśavartin devas. And at that instant they raised a shout that reached the devas in the world of Brahmā, crying, "Ho! friends, it has been proclaimed by the exalted Kāśyapa of this monk who is named Jyotipāla, that in some future time he will become a Tathāgata, an Arhan, a perfect Buddha, endowed with knowledge and virtue, a Sugata, an unsurpassed knower of the world, a driver of tameable men, and a teacher of devas and men. After gaining experience of this world and the world beyond, of the worlds of devas including Brahmā's devas, and of the race of recluses, brāhmans, devas and men, then here in the Deer Park at Ṛiṣivadana, near Benares, he will set rolling the wheel of dharma that is thrice-revolved and twelve-fold, and may not be rolled by recluse, brāhman, deva, Māra, Brahmā, or by anyone else. Reborn in the world again, together with dharma, thus will he teach the dharma that is endowed with and altogether perfect in all good qualities, as the exalted Kāśyapa now does. Thus will devas and men deem him worthy to hearken to and believe in as they now do the exalted Kāśyapa. He will become all this for the welfare and happiness of mankind, out of compassion for the world, for the sake of the multitude, for the welfare and happiness of devas and men. The hosts of the asuras will dwindle; the hosts of devas will wax great."

Then, Ānanda, when that shout had died away, the exalted Kāśyapa taught (**334**), roused, gladdened and thrilled the monks with a discourse on dharma. "Reason thus, monks," said he, "not thus. Apply your minds thus, not thus. Abide having your own selves as your island[1], not others; having your own selves as your refuge, not others; having the dharma as your island, and not anything else; having the dharma as your refuge and not anything else."

Then the exalted Kāśyapa, with his body all aflame, burning

[1] *Dvīpa*. This is *dīpa* in Pali, indistinguishable from *dīpa*, "light," and has so been translated, *e.g.* by Prof. and Mrs. Rhys Davids in *Dial.* 2. 108, and by the latter also in her book on *Buddhism* (Home University Library, 1934). The Commentary on *S.* 3. 42, takes *attadīpa* as synonymous with *attasaraṇa* ("refuge"), and the translation by Woodward (*K.S.* 3. 37) renders "islands unto yourselves." The *dvīpa* of the *Mahāvastu* is not, of course, an argument that *dvīpa*, "island" is more original than *dīpa*, "light."

and glowing, rose up in the air to the height of one palm-tree, and from there he taught, roused, gladdened and thrilled the monks with a discourse on dharma. "Reason thus, not thus, monks," said he. "Apply your minds thus, not thus. Abide having your own selves as your island, and not others; having your own selves as your refuge, and not others; having the dharma as your island, and not anything else; having the dharma as your refuge and not anything else."

Then, Ānanda, the exalted Kāśyapa rose from the height of one palm-tree to two, from two to three, from three to four, from four to five, from five to six, and from six to seven. And from that height he taught, roused, gladdened and thrilled the monks with a discourse on dharma. "Reason thus, monks," said he, "not thus. Apply your minds thus, not thus. Abide having your own selves as your island, and not others; having your own selves as your refuge, and not others; having the dharma as your refuge and not anything else."

Then, Ānanda, the exalted Kāśyapa, descending from the height of seven palm-trees to six, from six to five, four, three, two, and one, sat down on his seat again. There he taught, roused, gladdened, and thrilled the monks with a talk on dharma. "Reason thus, monks," said he, "not thus. Apply your minds thus, not thus. Abide having your own selves as your island and not others; having your own selves as your refuge, and not others; having the dharma as your island, and not anything else; having the dharma as your refuge, and not anything else."

Then, Ānanda, the exalted Kāśyapa uncrossed his legs (**335**) and said to his monks, "Monks, I uncross my legs as I have completely rid of the *āśravas* the hearts of all these seven thousand monks who are seated on these seats, except only the heart of the monk Jyotipāla. And of him I have proclaimed that he will win the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment."

Now, Ānanda, you will perhaps think that the monk named Jyotipāla at that time and on that occasion was somebody else. You must not think so. For it was I who at that time and on that occasion was the monk named Jyotipāla.

Thus did the Exalted One speak, and the venerable Ānanda himself and the seven thousand monks rejoiced in his words.

Here ends the chapter on Jyotipāla in the *Mahāvastu-Avadāna*.

When[1] the monk Jyotipāla had prepared rice-gruel for the exalted Kāśyapa and his company of disciples, he bought a thousand-pieces'[2] worth of *keśara* powder and sprinkled it over the exalted Kāśyapa and his company of disciples. He then gave the exalted Kāśyapa a golden seat and a suit of garments, and afterwards made his vow. "Like this exalted Kāśyapa," said he, "a perfect Buddha, who bears the thirty-two marks of a Great Man, is gifted with his eighty minor characteristics, has a radiant body, is endowed with the eighteen special attributes of a Buddha, strong with the ten powers of a Tathāgata, and confident with the four grounds of confidence, may I, too, in some future time become a Tathāgata, an Arhan, a perfect Buddha, endowed with knowledge and virtue, a Sugata, an unsurpassed knower of the world, a driver of tameable men, and a teacher of devas and men, as this exalted Kāśyapa now is. Thus may I set rolling the wheel of dharma, that is thrice-revolved, twelve-fold, and incomparable, as the exalted Kāśyapa now does. Thus may I maintain a community of disciples in harmony as the exalted Kāśyapa now does. Thus may devas and men deem me worthy to hearken to and believe in as they do now the exalted Kāśyapa. Thus having myself crossed, may I lead others across; released, may I release others; comforted may I comfort others; finally released(**336**) may I give final release to others, as this exalted Kāśyapa now does. May I become all this for the welfare and happiness of mankind, out of compassion for the world, for the sake of the great multitude, for the welfare and happiness of devas and men."

Then the exalted Kāśyapa proclaimed to Jyotipāla that he would win the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment. "You, Jyotipāla," said he, "will become in some future time a Tathāgata, an Arhan, a perfect Buddha, endowed with knowledge and virtue, a Sugata, an unsurpassed knower of the world, a driver of tameable men, and a teacher of devas and men. As soon as that auspicious *kalpa* comes, you will become endowed with the thirty-two marks of a Great Man, with his

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[1] A partial repetition of the history of Jyotipāla. Such repetitions are usually in verse, and there are some indications that this passage also was originally metrical.

[2] See note p. 32.

eighty minor characteristics, and with a radiance round your body. You will be endowed with the eighteen special attributes of a Buddha; you will be strong with the ten powers of a Tathāgata, and confident with the four grounds of confidence. Thus, having yourself crossed, you will lead others across; released, you will release others; comforted, you will comfort others; finally released you will give final release to others, as I do now. You will become all this for the welfare and happiness of mankind, for the sake of the multitude, out of compassion for the world, for the welfare and happiness of devas and men."

And immediately it was proclaimed by the exalted Kāśyapa that the monk Jyotipāla would win the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment, this great earth violently shook, trembled, and quaked six times. And the devas of earth cried out and made their shout heard. . . . *The account of this proclamation by the Exalted One is to be completed in the same way as that of other proclamations.*

The Bodhisattva Jyotipāla embraced the religious life under the exalted Kāśyapa, cleaned his retreat, served him with drink, and in turn was instructed by the Buddha.

> *Jyotipāla*[1] *the Bodhisattva in his quest for the cessation of existence, gave the Exalted One rice-gruel, a seat of gold, and a suit of garments.*
>
> *When he had made this gift he made a vow to be a guide of the world, a teacher of devas and men, and a preacher of the noble dharma.*

(337) "Thus," said he, "may the dharma be preached by me, and thus may many beings be established by me in the noble dharma. Thus may devas and men hearken to my voice. May I for the sake of mankind set rolling the wheel of dharma. May I light the torch of dharma; may I beat the bannered drum of dharma; may I raise on high the standard of dharma; may I blow the trumpet of dharma. May I bring the sight of understanding to those who are in the ways of ill, who are fallen on suffering, are tormented by birth and old age, and are subject to death, who see only with the eye of the flesh.

[1] Another repetition, partly verse, and partly prose.

May I set free from the round of rebirths those who are in the hells of Sanjīva, Kālasūtra, Sanghāta, Raurava and Avīci, or are scattered in the six realms of existence.[1] May I set free from the round of rebirths those who have fully or partially expiated[2] their sins in hell, who are tormented in the states of desolation, who are subject to death, whose bliss is little and misery great. May I live for the welfare of the world, and teach dharma to devas and men. Thus may I convert men as this Light of the world now does".

When that auspicious kalpa *comes, you will be a Buddha, a guide of the world, in Ṛiṣivadana, a Śākyan of the city named Kapila. Then will your vow be realised.*

After living a flawless, faultless, unspotted, unblemished, perfect holy life Jyotipāla died and was reborn in the deva world called Tuṣita as a deva named Śvetaketu, who was of great power and might. He excelled the other devas in the ten heavenly attributes, namely, heavenly length of life, heavenly complexion, heavenly bliss, heavenly majesty, heavenly fame, heavenly form, heavenly voice, and the heavenly senses of smell, taste, and touch. [And the other devas asked him for orders in all cases where an order was necessary.[3]]

This deva named Śvetaketu was learned, accomplished, confident, skilled, and intelligent, and he pursued the religious life under eighty-four thousand Buddhas, not to speak of ninety-six *koṭis* of Pratyekabuddhas and illustrious disciples.

(**338**)*Forty thousand Buddhas, guides of the world, passed away, what time the Conqueror lived the holy life in his quest to end existence.*

Fifty thousand Buddhas, guides of the world, passed away, and under them the Conqueror fulfilled his time in his quest to end existence.

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[1] *Gatis*, see p. 36.

[2] *Pakvipakva*, see p. 36.

[3] Senart is undoubtedly right in enclosing this passage in brackets, as it is obviously a gloss meant to explain *praṣṭavya* (*praṣṭavyehi*), which, however, the glossator mistook for the future participle passive of *prach*, "to ask," whereas it is really a Buddhist Sanskrit form for *sparśa*, and corresponding to Pali *phoṭṭhabba*, "touch." The form *praṣṭavya* occurs also above p. 31 (text).

Ninety-six koṭis *of independent Pratyekabuddhas passed away, and under them the Conqueror fulfilled his time in his quest to end existence.*

Countless koṭis *of Arhans of great learning passed away, and under them the Conqueror fulfilled his time in his quest to end existence.*

The association of the Master, the Daśabala, with these in his former lives has thus been related. A few Buddhas have been mentioned, many more are unmentioned of those under whom the Conqueror fulfilled his time in his quest to make existence cease.

Here ends the proclamation made concerning Jyotipāla in the *Mahāvastu-Avadāna*.

GENESIS OF THE WORLD

Here begins the Rājavaṃśa.[1]

Monks, there comes a time, there comes an occasion when this universe after a long stretch of time begins to dissolve.[2] And while it is in the course of dissolution beings are for the most part reborn in the world of the Ābhāsvara[3] devas.

There comes a time, monks, there comes an occasion, when this universe after a long stretch of time begins to re-evolve[4] once more, and while it is re-evolving certain beings, in order to achieve the extinction of existence and karma, leave Ābhāsvara and are born in this world. These beings are self-luminous, move through space, are made of mind, feed on joy, abide in a state of bliss, and go wherever they wish. That, monks, is the appropriate condition of these beings who are self-luminous, move through space, are made of mind, feed on joy, (339) abide in a state of bliss, and go wherever they wish. The moon and sun were not yet known in the world. Hence the forms of the stars were not known, nor the paths of the constellations, nor day and night, nor months

[1] *I.e.* The lineage or history of kings. For a parallel account of this Buddhist "Genesis" see *D.* 3. 84 ff. Cf. *D.* 1. 17.

[2] *Saṃvartati.* See note p. 43.

[3] See note p. 44.

[4] *Vivartati.* See p. 43.

and fortnights, nor seasons and years. That, monks, is the appropriate condition of those beings who are self-luminous, move through space, are made of mind, feed on joy, abide in a state of bliss, and go wherever they wish.

Then this great earth came into being like a lake of water, goodly in colour and taste. It was sweet even as the pure[1] honey of the bee. In appearance it was like an expanse of milk or butter.

Then, monks, some being who was wanton and of greedy disposition tasted this essence of earth[2] with his finger. It pleased him by its colour, smell and taste. Now other beings, when they saw what he had done, began to follow his example, and they too tasted this essence of earth with their fingers. They also were pleased, *and so on to* " taste."

On another occasion, monks, that being ate a whole mouthful of this essence of earth as ordinary food.[3] Other beings, also, when they saw him, began to follow his example, and ate whole mouthfuls of this essence of earth as ordinary food. Now, monks, from the time that these beings began to eat whole mouthfuls of this essence of earth as food, their bodies became heavy, rough and hard, and they lost the qualities of being self-luminous, of moving through space, of being made of mind, of feeding on joy, of being in a state of bliss and of going wherever they wished. (**340**) When these qualities[4] disappeared the moon and sun became known, and consequently the forms of the stars, the paths of the constellations, night and day, months and fortnights, and the seasons and years.

These beings, monks, lived on a very long time feeding on this essence of earth, it being the source of their appearance, nourishment and sustenance. Those who took much of it for food became ugly; those who ate little became comely. And those who were comely scoffed at the ugly saying, " We

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[1] *Aneḍaka*, see note p. 211.

[2] *Pṛithivīrasa.* The parallel Pali version (*D.* 3. 85) has *rasapaṭhavi* which is translated (*Dial.* 3. 82) as " savoury earth." In *S.* 1. 134 *paṭhavīrasa* is used of the earth's surface or humus which receives and nourishes the fallen seed. The *Pali Dictionary* rendering of " essence of earth " suits the *Mahāvastu* context very well, as it expresses the inchoate state of the earth at the time.

[3] *Kārakamāhāram.* For this sense of *kāraka* Senart compares *sannidhikāram* (p. 345), " en provision," " par provision."

[4] The text repeats their enumeration.

are comely; they are ugly." But while they thus lived on, proud of their beauty, vain and conceited, this essence of earth vanished.

Then there appeared on the surface of the earth an excrescence,[1] like honey[2] in appearance. This was goodly of colour and smell, and it was sweet like the pure honey of the bee.

And, monks, when the essence of earth had vanished those beings exclaimed, "Ah! What flavour it had! Ah! What flavour it had!" Even as men now do, when they are satisfied after eating good food, and exclaim "Ah! What flavour it had! Ah! What flavour it had!" Thus does that ancient primeval[3] expression become current once more, although men do not understand the significance of it.

And so, monks, (**341**) those beings lived on a very long time feeding on this excrescence on the surface of the earth, it being the source of their appearance, nourishment and sustenance. Those who ate much of it became ugly; those who ate little, comely. And those who were comely scoffed at those who were ugly, saying, "We are comely, they are ugly."

While they thus lived on, proud of their beauty, vain and conceited, the excrescence on the surface of the earth vanished, and in its place a creeping-plant appeared, like the bamboo in appearance. It was goodly of colour, smell and taste. It was sweet as the pure honey of the bee.

When the excrescence on the surface of the earth had disappeared those beings groaned, "Alas! Oh! Alas! Oh!" Just as now, when men are afflicted by any calamity, they groan, "Alas! Oh! Alas! Oh!" In this way does that ancient primeval expression become current once more, although men do not understand the significance of it. Thus, then, did those beings, when the excrescence on the surface of the earth had disappeared, groan, "Alas! Oh! Alas! Oh!"

Now, monks, when the excrescence on the surface of the earth had disappeared, those beings went on living for a very

[1] *Parpaṭaka*, a reading which Senart, without being aware of the Pali *pappaṭaka* (*D.* 3. 87), established for the *paryaṭaka* of the MSS., basing his conjecture on Sanskrit *parpaṭa*, which the lexicographers give as meaning not only "a medicinal plant" but also "fragrant substance" and "perfumed earth."

[2] *Chātraka* = *chātra*, "eine Art Honig" (Böhtlingk and Roth).

[3] Making the obvious emendation of °*agninyam* into °*agrajñam* Pali *aggañña*), "recognised as primitive," "primeval." (*Pali Dictionary*

long time on the creeping-plant, which became the source of their appearance, nourishment and sustenance. Those who ate much of it became ugly; those who ate little, comely. And those who were comely scoffed at those who were ugly, saying, "We are comely, they are ugly." While they thus became proud of their beauty, vain and conceited, the creeping-plant vanished.

In its place there appeared rice(**342**) which was without powder or husk, being just fragrant grain. If it was cropped at evening, by the morning it had sprouted, ripened and fully grown, without any signs of its having been cut. If it was cropped in the morning, by the evening it had sprouted, ripened and fully grown, without any signs of its having been cut.

Now, monks, at the disappearance of the creeping-plant, those beings groaned, "Alas! Oh! Alas! Oh!" Even as men now do when they are afflicted by any calamity. In this way does an ancient primeval expression become current once more, although men do not understand the significance of it.

Then, monks, after the disappearance of the creeping-plant, those beings lived on a very long time feeding on the rice which was without powder or husk, but was just fragrant grain. And from the time that they did so,[1] the distinguishing characteristics of female and male appeared among them. They looked on one another with inordinate passion in their hearts. Looking on one another with passion in their hearts they became inflamed with passion for one another. Becoming inflamed with passion they violated one another.

And, monks, those who witnessed them violating one another, threw sticks at them, and clods of earth and mud. For, my friends, wrong and sin appear in the world when one being violates another. Just as now, monks, when the young bride is being carried away, people throw sticks and clods. In this way does an ancient primeval custom[2] become current once more, although men do not understand the significance of it. Then, indeed, this was considered immoral, irreligious and irregular, but now it is considered moral, religious, and regular.

[1] Text repeats the preceding sentence.
[2] *Akṣara*, translated above in its usual sense of "expression." But "custom" is not wholly unconnected with its primary sense of "non-transitory," "durable," "lasting."

Now, monks, those beings,(**343**) because of their immorality, got into trouble, and they were shunned by their fellows. So they left their homes for one day, for two days, for three, four or five, for a fortnight or for a month, in order to conceal their immorality, and during this time had their housework done by others.

Then, monks, this thought occurred to some being who had gone to gather rice, "Why should I tire myself, as I have hitherto been doing, by gathering rice at evening for supper, and again in the morning for breakfast? What if I were to gather once daily enough rice for both the evening and morning meals?" So, monks, this being gathered once a day enough rice for evening and morning. Then some other being said to him, "Come, good being, let us go and gather rice." When this had been said, that other being replied, "You go, good being. As for me, I have fetched at one and the same time enough rice for both evening and morning."

Then, monks, it occurred to that other being also, "This is surely a splendid practice. What if I in my turn were to gather at one and the same time enough rice for two or three days?" And he went and gathered enough rice at one time for two or three days.

Then yet another being said to him, "Come, good being, let us go and gather rice." When this had been said, that being replied, "Do you go, good being, for I have gathered at one time enough rice for two or three days."

Then, monks, it occurred to that being also, "Surely this is a splendid practice. What if I in my turn were to gather at one time enough rice for four or five days?" And he went and gathered enough rice for four or five days at one time.

From the time, monks, that these beings began to live by hoarding the rice that was without powder or husk, but was just fragrant grain, powder and husk began to appear on it. And when it was cropped at evening it did no longer sprout, ripen and fully grow by the morning, while the signs of its having been cut were clearly seen.

(**344**)Then, monks, those beings hurriedly gathered together and took counsel. "Friends," said they, "in the past we were self-luminous, moved through space, were made of mind, fed on joy, lived in bliss, and went wherever we wished. And

while we were thus self-luminous, moved through space, were made of mind, fed on joy, lived in bliss, and went wherever we wished, the moon and sun were not known in the world, nor the forms of the stars, nor the paths of the constellations, nor day and night, months and fortnights, nor seasons and years.

"Then this great earth appeared, like a lake of water. In appearance it was like an expanse of butter or milk, and had a goodly colour, smell and taste. It was as sweet as the pure honey of the bee. But, friends, some being who was wanton and of greedy disposition tasted this essence of earth with his finger, and it delighted him with its colour, smell and taste. Then that being on another occasion ate a whole mouthful of this essence of earth as ordinary food. And we, seeing him, followed his example and ate whole mouthfuls of this essence of earth as ordinary food.

"Now, friends, from the time that we began to eat whole mouthfuls of this essence of earth as ordinary food, our bodies acquired weight, roughness and hardness, while the attributes we had before of being self-luminous, of moving through space, of being made of mind, of feeding on joy, of living in a state of bliss, and of going wherever we wished, were lost. And with the loss of these attributes,[1] moon and sun became known in the world(**345**), and the forms of the stars, the paths of the constellations, days and nights, months and fortnights, and seasons and years.

"Friends, we lived on for a very long time feeding on that essence of earth, which was the source of our appearance, our nourishment and our sustenance. But when wrong and sinful states came to be known among men,[2] when wrong and sinful states came to be known among us, then this essence of earth disappeared. And in its place there appeared an excrescence on the surface of the earth, like honey in appearance and of goodly colour and smell. It was as sweet as the pure honey of the bee.

"For a very long time, friends, we lived on that excrescence, which was the source of our appearance, nourishment and

[1] Text repeats in full.

[2] Literally "among them," *sānam*. Not necessarily a use of the 3rd person for the 1st. Apparently the whole phrase has been inadvertently repeated from its first occurrence when it had an objective application, in which case its further repetition here with *mo*, "among us," is an explanatory interpolation. *Mo* is frequently 1st pers. plural in the *Mahāvastu*.

sustenance. But when wrong and sinful states came to be known among men, then the excrescence on the earth disappeared. And in its place there appeared a creeping-plant, like the bamboo in appearance, goodly of colour, smell and taste. It was as sweet as the pure honey of the bee.

"And for a very long time, friends, we lived on that creeping-plant, which was the source of our appearance, nourishment and sustenance. But when wrong and sinful states came to be known among men, when wrong and sinful states came to be known among us, then did this creeping-plant disappear. In its place rice appeared, which was without powder or husk, being just fragrant grain. If this was cropped at evening, by the morning it had sprouted, ripened and fully grown, without any signs of its having been cut.

"For a very long time, friends, we lived on this rice, which was without powder or husk, but was just fragrant grain, and it was the source of our appearance, nourishment(**346**) and sustenance. But when wrong and sinful states came to be known among men, powder and husk began to envelop the rice. And now when cropped at evening it did not sprout, ripen and fully grow by the morning, while the signs of its having been cut were clearly seen. Nor when cropped in the morning did it sprout, ripen and fully grow by the evening, while the signs of its having been cut were clearly seen.

"What if we were now to divide the rice-fields and set boundaries to them? Let us allot this field to you, and this to ourselves." And so, monks, they set boundaries to the rice-fields, saying, "This field is yours, this is ours."

Then, monks, this thought occurred to some being who had gone to gather rice: "What will become of me? How shall I get a living, if my plot of rice fails? What if now I were to steal and take another's?"[1] And so, monks, while he was watching over his own plot of rice, he stole and took another's.

[1] *Anyātaka*. Etymologically, this can only be a Buddhist Sanskrit equivalent of Pali *aññātaka*, "he who is not a kinsman" (*DhA* I. 222), which in classical Sanskrit would be *ajñātaka*, from *a-jñāti*. But the word is here obviously used in the sense of "another," *anya*, and the sense may have influenced the orthography. At the same time, if the word were written *ajñātaka* it would be possible to render "(steal and take the rice of one) who is not a kinsman," which at a later stage of tribal development would be an apposite way of expressing "another," and might imply justification of a theft from him as being an "alien" without rights.

Another being saw him steal and take another's rice, and when he had seen him, he went to him and said, "Indeed, good being, you have stolen and taken another's rice." And he replied, "Yes, good being, but it will not happen again."

But, monks, the thought occurred to him a second time when he had gone to gather rice: "What will become of me? How shall I get a living, if my plot of rice fails? What if now I were to steal and take another's rice?" And a second time did that being, while watching over his own plot, steal and take another's rice.

That other being saw him thus a second time steal and take another's rice, and when he had seen him, he went to him and said, "Good being, it is the second time(**347**) that you have stolen and taken another's rice." And a second time, monks, did he reply, "Yes, but it will not happen again."

But a third time, monks, did the thought occur to that being when he had gone to gather rice: "What will become of me? How shall I get a living if my plot of rice fails? What if now I were to steal and take another's rice?" And so a third time did that being while watching over his own plot steal and take another's rice.

The other being saw him thus a third time steal and take another's rice, and when he had seen him he went to him and beat him with a stick, saying, "Good being, this is the third time you have stolen and taken another's rice." Then, monks, he stretched out his arms, wailed, and cried, "Sir, wrong and injustice have made their appearance in the world, now that violence is known." But, monks, the other being, throwing his stick on the ground, stretched out his arms, wailed and cried out, "Sir, it is when theft and falsehood make their appearance in the world that wrong and injustice are known."

And so, monks, the three wrong and sinful states of theft, falsehood, and violence made their first appearance in the world.

Then, monks, those beings hurriedly gathered together and took counsel. "Friends," said they, "what if we were to select him who is most kind-hearted among us, and most authoritative, to reprove whoever among us deserves reproof, and to approve whoever deserves approval? And we will

assign[1] to him a portion of the rice in the fields of each of us."

And so, monks, those beings selected him(**348**) who was the most kind-hearted and authoritative among them, and said to him, "Let your majesty reprove whosoever among us deserves reproof, and approve whosoever deserves approval. We elect you to sovereignty over us all, and we give you a sixth part of the rice in the fields of each of us."

So originated the idea that Mahā-Sammata[2] means "elected by the great body of the people." So originated the idea that *rājan* means he who is worthy[3] of the rice-portions from the rice-fields. So originated the idea that an anointed [noble][4] means he who is a perfect guardian and protector. So originated the idea that he who achieves security for his country[5] is as a parent to towns and provinces. That is how a king can say, "I am king, an anointed noble, and one who has achieved security for my people."

The son of King Sammata was Kalyāṇa, whose son was Rava. Rava's son was Upoṣadha, and Upoṣadha's son was King Māndhātar.[6]

King Māndhātar had many thousand sons, grandsons, and grandsons' grandsons, all of them kings. The last of these was Ikṣvāku,[7] styled Sujāta, king in the great city of Śāketa.

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[1] The text has *deśaye cāyam*, "and he shall designate," which is not satisfactory in view of what is explicitly said later that the rice portions were assigned by the owners themselves. Senart, therefore, proposes *deśeyyema vayam* or *dadyāma vayam*, and this has been followed in the translation.

[2] The first king of the present age, and the progenitor of the Śākyan clan, his name being here explained from his having been thus "elected" or "selected" (*sammata*).

[3] I.e., *arahati*, "he deserves or merits" is here taken to be etymologically connected with *rājan*, "king."

[4] There is a lacuna in the text, but Senart makes the obvious conjecture and supplies *kṣatriyati*, for this seems just the word the fanciful etymology requires to connect with *rakṣati*, "to protect."

[5] Senart prints the form *janapadasthāmavīryaprapta*, which, however, as he says in his note, is inexplicable in this context. He cites the form *janapadasthāvīryaprapta* given in some other MSS, and interprets this as "qui excerce sur le pays l'autorité de l'âge." That the latter form is the correct one is proved by the Pali *janapadathāviriya*, literally "security of a country," *i.e.* an appeased country as one of the blessings of the reign of a Cakkavattin (see *Pali Dictionary* for references). It seems better to give *sthāvirya* here its primary sense of "fixity," "security," *etc.* (√ *sthā*), rather than the derivative one of "age." (Cf. Pali *thera* and *thāvara*.)

[6] The genealogy in most Pali texts is, Mahāsammata, Roja, Vararoja, Kalyāṇa, Varakalyāṇa, Uposatha and Mandhātā. (*D.P.N.*)

[7] Pali *Okkāka*, "although it is unlikely that the latter is identical with the Ikṣvāku of the Purāṇas, the immediate son of Manu." (*D.P.N.*) The story here given, with some differences in nomenclature, follows pretty closely that in the Pali texts.

King Ikṣvāku Sujāta had five sons, Opura, Nipura, Karakaṇḍaka, Ulkāmukha and Hastikaśīrṣa, and five young daughters, Śuddhā, Vimalā, Vijitā, Jalā and Jalī. Also he had a son named Jenta by a concubine.[1] Jenta's mother was named Jentī. King Sujāta was pleased by her womanly qualities, and he thus became gracious to her and offered her the choice of a boon. "Jentī," said he, "I grant you a boon. Whatever boon you ask of me I will give it to you." Jentī replied, "Sire, after I have consulted with my parents, I shall make a request of you."

Then Jentī informed her parents and said, "The king has offered me the choice of a boon. What do you say? What shall I ask of the king?" And they both(**349**) expressed what was in the mind of each and said, "Ask for the boon of a village."

But there was a certain female devotee who was clever, cute and crafty, and she said, "Jentī, you are yourself a concubine's daughter, and your son has no right to his father's estate, not to speak of that of a king's. It is those five boys, the sons of a noble woman, who have the right to their father's kingdom and estate. Now the king has offered you the choice of a boon, and King Sujāta does not go back on his word, but is truthful and keeps his promises. Do you, therefore, ask this of him and say, 'Banish those five sons of yours from the kingdom, and anoint my young son Jenta as heir to the throne. And he shall become king in the great city of Śāketa after you.' After that everything will be yours."

And so Jentī asked this boon of the king. "Your majesty," said she, "banish these five sons of yours from the kingdom, and anoint the young boy Jenta as heir to the throne, so that he will become king in the great city of Śāketa after his father. Let your majesty grant me this boon."

When Sujāta heard this, he was sorely troubled, for he loved those boys. And yet, having offered a boon, he could not do otherwise. So he said to the woman Jentī, "So be it. Let this boon be granted you."

Cities and provinces heard of this granting of the boon, of how the young men were to be banished, and the young

[1] *Vailāsikā*, seems to occur only here in this sense, but is evidently related to *vilāsinī*, "courtesan," "harlot."

Jenta, a concubine's son, anointed heir to the throne. Then, owing to the sterling worth of those young men, there was great sorrow among the people, and they said, " Where they go, we go."

King Sujāta heard that the people were intending to leave Śāketa and the provinces with the princes, and he caused a proclamation to be made in the great city of Śāketa : " To all who go out of Śāketa with the princes will be given all they want from the royal[1] store. If they want elephants, horses, chariots, carts, carriages, waggons, oxen, rams,[2] goats, antelopes, corn, or anything else, such as clothes, ornaments, **(350)** male and female slaves, all these will be given them from the royal store." And at the king's command, his ministers produced and gave from his store-house, granary and treasury, whatever any of those going into exile asked for.

So the young princes accompanied by several thousands of their countrymen left the city of Śāketa in a strong body with many thousands of waggons, carts and carriages, and made for the north. There they were befriended by the king of Kāśi and Kośala[3]. For the young men were good, masterly, gentle,[4] pleasant,[5] virtuous and honourable, and all the people of Kāśi and Kośala were entirely delighted with them. "Ah ! " said they, " how good and honourable are these young men."

But then it happened with this king as the Exalted One says in the *Questions of Śakra* :[6] " Devas and men, Asuras, Garuḍas, Gandharvas, Yakṣas, Rākṣasas, Piśācas, Kumbhāṇḍas, and all other denizens of earth are bound in the fetters of jealousy and envy."

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[1] *Rājakṛitya.* For this use of *kṛitya* as a genitival suffix Senart compares one or two instances in *Lal. Vist.*, as well as the parallel formation in Prakrit and certain modern Indian languages, e.g. the genitive ending *kā, ke, kī* in Hindī.

[2] The text has *masniyehi* (*masniya*) which is obviously corrupt. Senart takes the reading of one MS., *maśniyehi* as being, palaeographically, an approximation to the true reading, which he says should be *meṇḍa*, Pali for " ram " (Prakrit *meṇtha* or *miṇtha*, see *Pali Dictionary*). But, to speak without the palaeographical evidence, the regular Sanskrit *meṣa*, " ram," seems quite as close, if not closer, to the reading of both text and manuscript.

[3] These two countries were often at war, now one and now the other being conquered and ruled by one king.

[4] *Nivāta*, cf. Pali *nivāta* (" sheltered from the wind " and therefore " low "), " lowliness," " humbleness," " obedience," " gentleness." (*Pali Dictionary*.)

[5] *Sukhasaṃsparṣā*, " pleasant to touch, deal with."

[6] The reference is to the *Sakkapañha Sutta*, *D.* 2. 263 ff. In the particular extract quoted (p. 276) the Pali text names only devas, men, Nāgas, and Gandharvas.

And so jealousy took hold of the king of Kāśi and Kośala. "As this people of mine," thought he, "have been attracted by these young men, it is possible they will kill me and then anoint them as heirs to the throne." Therefore the king of Kāśi and Kośala drove them out of the land.

Now there dwelt on the slopes of the Himalayas a seer named Kapila, who was in possession of the five super-knowledges, had achieved the four meditations, and was of great might and power. His hermitage was extensive, delightful, rich in roots, flowers, leaves, fruits, and water, was bright with a thousand plants, and included a large wood of *śākoṭa*[1] trees.

And the young men sojourned there in the wood of *śākoṭa* trees. Thither there came some merchants on their way to the lands of Kāśi and Kośala. (On their return home) somebody asked these merchants, "Whence do you come?" And they replied, "From the forest of *śākoṭa* trees yonder. Men of Śāketa in(**351**) Kośala also are travelling there in the forest of *śākoṭa* trees. For we asked them, 'Where are you going?' And they replied, 'To the *śākoṭa* forest in the Himalayas'."[2]

Now those young princes said among themselves, "There must be no corruption of our race." And from fear of such a corruption they each married a half-sister born of a different mother.[3]

Then King Sujāta asked his ministers, saying, "My ministers, where do the princes dwell?" And his ministers replied, "Your majesty, the princes dwell in a great wood of *śākoṭa* trees in the Himalayas."

Next, the king asked his ministers, "Whence do the princes get themselves wives?" They replied, "We have heard, your majesty, that the princes, through fear of corrupting their race, each married a half-sister of a different mother, saying, 'There must be no corruption of our race'."

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[1] An unidentified tree.

[2] The text here is very corrupt.

[3] The word *mātriyo*, if the reading is correct, presents a serious grammatical difficulty. Senart, on the basis of the Tibetan account translated by Csoma, proposes to read, *svakasvakā paramātriyo bhaginīyo*, and this has been followed in translation. But the form *mātriyo*, which must be nom. pl., cannot be satisfactorily accounted for.

Then the king asked his priest and other learned brāhmans, "Can that be done as it has been done by these princes?" And the learned brāhmans with the priest at their head replied, "It can be done, your majesty, and thereby the princes do not contract any taint."

When he heard the learned brāhmans, the king, gladdened, delighted and enraptured, exclaimed, "Cunning,[1] sirs, are these princes." And from the "cunning" of these princes arose their name, appellation and designation of Śākiyans.[2]

Then it occurred to those princes, "What sort of dwelling-place shall we prepare for ourselves here in the *śākoṭa* forest? For it is a great multitude that has come with us. What if we were to found a city?"

And the princes went into the presence of Kapila the seer, and having bowed at his feet, said, "If the blessed Kapila permits, we shall found a city here, and call it Kapilavastu after the seer's name."

The seer replied, "If in founding your city you will make this hermitage of mine(**352**) the site of your royal palace, then I give my consent." The princes answered, "As is the seer's wish, so will we do. In founding our city we shall make this hermitage the site of our royal palace."

So the seer with the water he had brought in a pitcher[3] handed over the property to the princes, and they founded their city, making the hermitage the site of their royal palace. The name Kapilavastu arose from the land having been given by Kapila the seer.

And the city of Kapilavastu became prosperous, rich, peaceful, well-supplied with food, and densely peopled with happy citizens, with a wide area of populous country around. It was known far and wide, and had many festivals and fairs; it was a favourite resort of merchants and the centre of a busy trade.

Now of these five princes Opura, Nipura, Karaṇḍaka, Ulkāmukha and Hastikaśirṣa, Opura was the eldest, and he was anointed to the throne of Kapilavastu. King Opura's son

[1] *I.e.* in its etymological sense as a derivative from "can," (A.S. *cunnan.*) The Sanskrit is *śakya* from *śak*, "to be able."

[2] Or Śākyans according to the usual orthography in the *Mahāvastu*.

[3] *I.e.* the water was given to the princes as a sanction or ratification of the gift, a type of formality common in primitive conveyancing.

was Nipura ; his son was Karaṇḍaka ; his son was Ulkāmukha ; his son was Hastikaśīrṣa, and his son was Siṃhahanu.[1]

King Siṃhahanu had four sons Śuddhodana, Dhautodana, Śuklodana and Amṛitodana, and he had a daughter named Amitā.

Now a certain chieftain of the Śākyans had a daughter who was charming, comely, strikingly handsome, and gifted with consummate beauty. But leprosy attacked this young girl, and she was being consumed by this disease. Physicians exerted themselves, and everything possible was done for her, but she was not cured. Salves after salves, emetics, and purgatives were applied, but the leprosy was not checked. Her whole body became one sore, and all the people were filled with pity at sight of her.

Then her brothers put her in a litter, and carried her to the slopes of the Himalayas. There on the crest of a hill they dug a hole and put the young girl in it. They placed with her a plentiful supply of food and water, as well as bedding and covering.(**353**) Having sealed the mouth of the hole carefully and raised a big mound of earth over it, they returned to the city of Kapilavastu.

Now while the young girl was living in the hole she got rid of all her leprosy, because the hole was sheltered from the wind and therefore warm. Her body became clean and spotless, and regained its former exquisite beauty. To see her no one would think her human.

Then a tiger marauding around came to the spot.

> *Beasts perceive with their noses, brāhmans by means of the Vedas, kings by means of spies, but ordinary folk with their eyes.*

The tiger scented the smell of human flesh, and with its paws scratched away the big mound of earth.

Not far away there dwelt a royal seer,[2] named Kola,[3] who

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[1] In the Pali texts Siṃhahanu (*Sīhahanu*) is the son of Jayasena. He there has five, not four, sons, although the names are identical as far as they go.

[2] *Rājariṣi*, a king or member of the military caste who has become a recluse. The regular Sanskrit form is *rājarṣi*, which is found on page 210 as an honorific title of the Buddha.

[3] The Pali *Commentaries* contain a very similar tale, but the sufferer from leprosy there is a daughter of Okkāka, and she is discovered and married by a king, Rāma. They build a city in the forest, removing a big jujube tree (*kola*) for the purpose, whence their descendants are called *Koliyans*. (*D.P.N.*)

possessed the five superknowledges and had achieved the four meditations. His hermitage was delightful, and furnished with roots, leaves, flowers, fruits, water and divers trees.

Now as he was strolling up and down his hermitage he came to the spot where the Śākyan maiden was buried in a hole. By that time the tiger had scratched away with its paws all the heap of earth, leaving only the wooden framework. At the sight of the seer, however, the tiger slinked off. When he saw the earth scratched away by the tiger, the seer was greatly disturbed, and he pulled away the pieces of wood so that the entrance to the hole was revealed. When he saw the Śākyan maiden in the perfection of her bloom, he exclaimed, "This is no human female that I see here."

The seer questioned her. "Good lady," said he, "who may you be?" The woman replied, "I am from Kapilavastu, the daughter of a Śākyan there. I was afflicted with leprosy and was abandoned alive here."

When he saw the peerless beauty of the Śākyan maiden violent passion stirred in him.

> (354)*Though a man live a chaste life for a long time, yet the latent fires of passion in him are not put out. But once again will the poison of passion break out, just as the fire*[1] *that is latent*[2] *in wood can not be suppressed.*

So the royal seer had intercourse with the Śākyan maiden, thus apostasizing from his meditations and his super-knowledges. He took the Śākyan maiden with him to his hermitage. There she lived with Kola, the royal seer, and bore him sixteen pairs of twin sons. The seer's thirty-two young sons were prepossessing and beautiful, and wore antelope's hide and kept their hair braided.

When they had grown up they were sent by their mother to Kapilavastu. "Go, my sons," said she, "to the great city of Kapilavastu. A Śākyan of such and such a name is my father and your grandfather. That Śākyan's sons are your uncles, and almost all the Śākyan nobles are your kinsmen.

[1] The text has *tiṣṭham*, which is obviously corrupt. *Tigma* which can mean "fire" is a plausible conjecture and may be palaeographically possible, although Senart cannot think of any emendation which can be made "sans violence à la leçon des manuscrits."

[2] Literally "gone to the wood," *kāṣṭhagataṃ*.

Such is the great family to which you belong. They will provide you with means to live."

And she trained them in the ways of the Śākyans, saying, "Thus are you to approach the assembly of the Śākyans; thus are you to address them; thus are you to sit down among them." And when they had all been instructed in the ways of the Śākyans, they were sent off. They respectfully took leave of their mother and father, departed, and in due time reached Kapilavastu.

They entered Kapilavastu one after the other in the order of their ages. When the multitude saw these young hermits they remarked on them, saying, "Ah! look at these young hermits. How charming and beautiful they are in their antelope's hide and braided hair."

And so the young men, escorted by a great crowd, proceeded to the public place of assembly. About five hundred Śākyans were seated there, having come together on some business. The young men approached the assembly in the manner taught them by their mother, so that when the assembly of the Śākyans saw the young hermits **(355)** comporting themselves like Śākyans, they were amazed.

Then the Śākyans asked the young hermits, "Where do you come from?" In reply they related all the circumstances as they had been instructed by their mother. "We are the sons of Kola, a royal seer of a certain hermitage on the slopes of the Himalayas, and our mother is the daughter of a certain Śākyan." And repeating what they had heard from their mother they told the Śākyans in full how the Śākyan maiden had been driven forth to that place.

When the Śākyans heard this they were delighted. Now their grandfather, a chieftain of the Śākyans, and a large number of their relatives were still living. Further, Kola, the royal hermit, was from Benares, whence he had gone into seclusion after anointing his eldest son to the throne, and he was a distinguished seer, known far and wide.

Thus the Śākyans were delighted that these young men were the sons of a royal seer and not of a common man. And the thought occurred to them: "These young men are of our blood, so let them be given Śākyan maidens and means to live." So Śākyan maidens were given them, as well as tracts

of arable land, namely, Āśrama, Nigama, Sumukta, Karkarabhadra,[1] and other tracts—a rich estate for their very own.

The Koliyans were so named from their being the offspring of Kola the seer, and Vyāghrapadyā[2] was so named after the tiger's haunt.

Here ends the chapter of the *Mahāvastu-Avadāna* on the origin of the name of the Koliyans.[3]

THE HISTORY OF THE DEER PARK

Now the Śākyans had a town named Devaḍaha, where there lived a Śākyan chieftain named Subhūti.[4] And he took to wife a Koliyan maiden from a certain town, who bore him seven daughters, namely, Māyā, Mahāmāyā, Atimāyā, Anantamāyā, Cūlīyā, Kolīsovā,[5] and Mahāprajāpatī.

The history of Māyā.

The Śākyan king Siṃhahanu had four sons and one daughter. The sons were Śuddhodana, Śuklodana, Dhautodana and Amṛitodana, while the daughter was Amitā. When King Siṃhahanu died(**356**), Śuddhodana succeeded to the throne. And King Śuddhodana bade his ministers bring him a maiden who was lovely and of good birth. The ministers at once sent out brāhmans who were clever, learned and adept in assessing the qualities of women, men and maidens. "Go," said they, "discover a maiden worthy to be a consort to King Śuddhodana."

As these brāhmans scoured the villages, towns, cities and provinces, they saw in the Śākyan town of Devaḍaha the seven daughters of the Śākyan Subhūti, and of the seven Māyā was outstanding. A maiden like her it would be very hard to find in the whole of Jambudvīpa.

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[1] The last of these names alone is known elsewhere as that of a Koliyan township.

[2] Pali *Vyagghapajjā*.

[3] The chapter has, however, dealt mainly with the history of the Śākyans, that of the Koliyans being only a supplement. Possibly the subscription to the main chapter has dropped out.

[4] In *Mhv.* 2. 17 Māyā's father is Añjana of Devaḍaha; in *ThīgA.* 140 he is called Mahā-Suppabuddha.

[5] A corrupt form. The general tradition, also, knows of only one sister of Māyā's, *viz.* Mahāprajāpatī. The second, third and fourth names here were obviously in origin appellatives of Māyā. Possibly the fifth, also, is so, being formed from the Pali *culla* or *cūla*, "younger."

They reported this to the king, saying, "In the town of Devaḍaha the Śākyan Subhūti has seven lovely and beautiful daughters, and one of them is pre-eminent among all the seven sisters in beauty, radiance, and wisdom. She is gifted with all good qualities, and her name is Māyā. In all the villages, cities, towns,[1] and provinces that we searched, we did not see before we came to Devaḍaha anyone like Māyā, the daughter of the Śākyan Subhūti."

Śuddhodana sent a message to Subhūti, saying, "Give me your daughter Māyā to wife, and she shall become my chief queen." But Subhūti replied to the messengers, "Māyā has six sisters older than she. When these are married, then shall Māyā be given to his majesty."

The messengers reported this to king Śuddhodana and said, "Your majesty, thus says the Śākyan Subhūti, 'When her six elder sisters are married, then will Māyā be given to his majesty'."

King Śuddhodana sent a further message to Subhūti the Śākyan, saying, "Give me all your seven daughters." The messengers took this message back to Subhūti the Śākyan and said to him, "Thus says king Śuddhodana, 'Give me all your seven daughters'." And Subhūti the Śākyan complied with king Śuddhodana's request, and said, "Your majesty, let them be given you."

And so with great royal magnificence, pomp and splendour all the seven maidens(**357**) were led forth by King Śuddhodana from the town of Devaḍaha to Kapilavastu. The king established two of them, Māyā and Mahāprajāpatī, in his own harem, and gave the other five to his five brothers.[2]

"In twelve years the Bodhisattva will leave his abode in Tuṣita." So did the Suddhāvāsa devas proclaim[3] to the Pratyekabuddhas in Jambudvīpa, "The Bodhisattva is about to descend. Quit the field of the Buddha."

The Great and Glorious One, endowed with infinite knowledge and insight, is about to come down from his abode in Tuṣita. Quit the field of the Buddha [*the Master*],[4] *who bears the marks of excellence.*

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[1] See note p. 14.
[2] pp. 298 and 301, he is said to be one of four brothers.
[3] See p. 95.
[4] Lacuna in text.

When the Pratyekabuddhas heard the Buddha proclaimed by these great lords, they passed away, emancipated in heart, independent, masters of their hearts.

Now Pratyekabuddhas pass away after they have each recited his own verse.[1]

In a great wood a *yojana* and a half from Benares there dwelt five hundred Pratyekabuddhas. They too recited each his own verse and passed entirely away.

Strenuous, constantly devoted, sublime in heart, alert, firm, and courageous, endued with strength and energy, they live in loneliness like a rhinoceros.[2]

They rose up in the air and having at their command the element of fire,[3] they passed completely away. Their flesh and blood were consumed in their own fire. Their corpses fell to earth.

In due time developing equanimity and pity, cultivating sympathy[4] *with others, with love in one's heart, friendly and compassionate, let one live in loneliness like a rhinoceros.*[5]

(358)*Discarding the use of the scourge against all creatures, causing hurt to none of them; discarding the use of the scourge against the timid as well as the bold,*[6] *let one live in loneliness like a rhinoceros.*

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[1] Literally "made their proclamations" or "manifestoes," *vyākaraṇāni vyākaritvā*.

[2] See note p. 250.

[3] *Tejodhātum samāpadyitvā*. This expression is rendered in the *Pali Dictionary* by "converting one's body into fire." The same rendering is found in *S.B.E.* XIII. 120 for the passage at *V.* 1. 25, where it is said *bhagavāpi tejodhātum samāpajjitvā pajjali*—"and the Blessed One converting his body into fire sent forth flames." But *samāpadyati* (*samāpajjati*) has no passive or middle force here, but literally means "to attain," "win mastery over." The idea then is that the Pratyekabuddhas in the passage in the *Mahāvastu* summoned up fire, over which they had command, to achieve their own *parinibbāna*, just as Dabba at *V.* 2. 76 called up fire (*tejodhātum samāpajjitvā*) to light the way for the monks. (Note: *S.B.E.* XX. 7, translates the phrase here "caught up fire.")

(The translator owes this interpretation to a suggestion by Miss I. B. Horner.)

[4] *Muditā*, Pali *id.*, a by-form of Pali *mudutā* (Sanskrit *mṛidutā*) in the special sense of sympathising in the joys of others.

[5] This begins a version of the *Khaggaviṣāṇa Sutta* (*Sn.* 35 ff.). The second stanza, however, is based on *Dhammapada*, 405.

[6] *Nikṣiptadaṇḍo trasasthāvareṣu*, cf. *Dhp.* 405, *nidhāya daṇḍam bhūtesu tasesu thāvaresu ca*, "whoso has laid aside the rod of force, concerning creatures cowed or truculent." (Mrs. Rhys Davids' translation.)

Throwing off the marks of a householder, like the pāripātra[1] *tree denuded of leaves, and going forth from home clad in the yellow robe, let one live in loneliness like a rhinoceros.*

Tearing off the marks of a householder, let one go forth from home clad in the yellow robe, like a solitary flame that rises from the ashes,[2] *and live in loneliness like a rhinoceros.*

If one associates with one's fellows, there is the risk of too great affection. And the pain in this world is the result of affection. Therefore, one should avoid society, and live in loneliness like a rhinoceros.

If one associates with one's fellows, there is the risk of too great affection. And the pain in this world is the result of affection. Therefore one should avoid too great affection for those who are dear, and live in loneliness like a rhinoceros.

If one associates with one's fellows, there is the risk of too great affection. And the pain in this world is the result of affection. Therefore although one is loth to part from friends, one should live in loneliness like a rhinoceros.

If one associates with one's fellows, there is the risk of too great affection (**359**). *And the pain in this world is the result of affection. Therefore, thoroughly grasping the peril that lies in having friends, one should live in loneliness like a rhinoceros.*

If one associates with one's fellows, there is the risk of too great affection. And the pain in this world is the result of affection. Therefore, thoroughly grasping the peril that lies in having sons, one should live in loneliness like a rhinoceros.

He who takes thought of sons and friends, and whose heart is bound by the ties of affection, loses his own good. One should not, then, desire sons, much less friends, but live in loneliness like a rhinoceros.

He who takes thought of relatives and friends and whose heart is bound by the ties of affection, loses his own good. One should not, then, desire relatives, much less friends, but live in loneliness like a rhinoceros.

[1] See p. 221.
[2] Reading, on Senart's suggestion, *bhasmavivekacārī* for *bhasmani ekacārī*.

All the stanzas of the *Khaḍgaviṣāṇa*[1] are to be supplied here in full, namely the stanzas pronounced by each one of the Pratyekabuddhas.

Ṛiṣipatana was so named from the falling of the seers.[2]

Now in a forest at that place there was a king of deer named Rohaka who looked after a herd of a thousand deer. He had two sons, Nyagrodha and Viśākha.[3] And the king gave five hundred deer to each son.

Brahmadatta, the king of Kāśi, was continually hunting in all parts of that forest and killing deer. But not all the deer he shot found their way to his table, for many of them escaped wounded into the bushes and thickets of the forest, into the clumps of grass, reeds and brambles, and died, and were devoured by ravens(**360**) and vultures.

The deer-king Nyagrodha said to his brother Viśākha, "Let us, Viśākha, appeal to the king and say to him, "You do not feed on all the deer you shoot, for many of them escape wounded to their lairs, where they die and are devoured by ravens and vultures. Now we shall give your majesty one deer daily which will come of its own will to your kitchen. In this way disaster and destruction will not befall this herd of deer'."

His brother Viśākha replied, "Very well, let us appeal to him."

Now the king was out hunting, and the kings of the herds of deer saw him coming from a distance, with an army and accompanied by men carrying knives, bows, spears and lances. When they saw the king, they went up to him without fear or trembling, although it was at the risk of their lives.

The king of Kāśi saw the deer-kings coming when they were still some way off, and he gave an order to his army. "Let no one molest these deer which are coming. Who knows what significance it has that they do not flee at the sight of the army, but come to meet me?" So the army made way for those deer, parting to the left and to the right. And the two deer came up to the king and fell at his knees.

[1] The *Khaggavisāṇa Sutta* in *Sn.* (35–75) contains only 41 stanzas. But it is implied here that there were 500 stanzas, *i.e.* the number of the Pratyekabuddhas.

[2] The form of the name of this place in the *Mahāvastu*, however, is generally *Ṛiṣivadana*.

[3] This story is *Nigrodhamiga Jātaka* (No. 12).

The king asked the deer-kings, "What do you ask for? Make known what you want done." And they, in a human voice, appealed to the king and said, "Your majesty, this is what we beg for. We two were born and grew up in your dominion in the forest here, together with many a hundred other deer as well. We two are brothers, and kings of these herds of deer, and we dwell here in your majesty's domain. Now, just as your majesty's cities, towns, villages and provinces are graced by people, kine, oxen and many thousands of other living creatures, two-footed and four-footed, so are these forest glades, fastnesses, rivers and streams graced by these herds of deer. And this, your majesty, is what adorns sovereignty, that all the two-footed and four-footed creatures which dwell in your majesty's domain, **(361)** in village, forest or mountain, come to your majesty for protection and all of them are cared for and protected by you. Your majesty and no other is their sovereign.

"But when your majesty goes hunting many hundreds of deer come by disaster and destruction. Not all the deer hit by arrows reach your majesty's table, for some escape into the thickets and brushwood of the forest, and into clumps of grasses and reeds, where they die and are devoured by ravens and vultures. Thus your majesty is tainted with wrongdoing.

"Now, if it is your majesty's pleasure, we two kings of deer will send you each day one deer which will come of its own free will to your kitchen. From one herd on one day and from the second the next, each day will we send one deer to your majesty, so that there will be no break in the provision of venison for the king, while these deer will not come by disaster and destruction."

The king granted this appeal of the kings of the herds of deer, saying, "Let it be as you wish. Go, and live without fear or trembling, and send me one deer daily."

And when he had granted this appeal the king instructed his ministers that no one was to molest the deer. Having given this order he returned to the city.

The kings of the herds of deer gathered all the deer together and comforted them. "Be not afraid," said they, "for we have appealed to the king not to go hunting any more, and

no one will molest deer. But each day one deer is to be sent to the king's kitchen, from one herd on one day and from the other the next".

And they counted the numbers in both herds and decided the order[1] in which they should be taken from each. From one herd on one day, and from the other the next day, one deer was to go daily to the king's kitchen.

One day, it being the turn of Viśākha's herd, it fell to the lot of a doe which was with young to go to the king's kitchen. And the deer which acted as crier[2] called her and said, "To-day it is your turn. Go (**362**) to the king's kitchen." But she replied, "I am pregnant, and have two young ones in my womb. Therefore order another to go, and when I am delivered, then will I go. If I go now we shall be three going instead of one. But if these two young ones are born, the time of you all will be so much lengthened."[3]

The crier reported this matter to the king of the herd, who replied, "Bid another deer to go, the one due to go next after the doe, and she will go afterwards when she is delivered." The crier thus passed over the doe, and ordered the deer whose turn it was next after her to go to the king's kitchen. But that deer said, "It is not my turn to go to-day; it is that doe's turn. I have, therefore, yet a while to live."

In the same way others were called, but they would not go out of their turn. They all said, "It is that doe's turn. Let her go."

So the doe was called again. "Good doe," she was told, "no one is willing to go out of his turn. It is really your turn, so do you go to the king's kitchen." Then, as they would not give her respite, the doe, out of love for her young, knowing that if she were slain[4] they also would be destroyed, went to the other herd. And when she had come thither, she prostrated herself before the king of the herd. He asked her, "Good doe, what is this? What do you want? What is to do?" The doe replied, "To-day it is my turn to go from

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[1] Literally, "made or fixed the turn," *osaram* (= *avasaram*) *kṛitam*.

[2] *Āṇāpaka* (Pali), "giving an order," "one who calls out orders."

[3] *I.e.* "the turn of each will be longer in coming."

[4] *Mama sannipātena*, "by the death of me." For this sense of *sannipāta* Senart refers to Böhtlingk and Roth who cite Nīlakaṇṭha as giving this sense to the word in the *Mahābhārata* XII. 7408.

my herd to the king's kitchen. But I have two young ones in my womb. So I appealed to Viśākha, the king of my herd, and said to him, 'To-day it is my turn, but I have two young ones in my womb. Send others in my place, and when I am delivered I shall go.' But those others who have been ordered by the king of the herd to go are not willing, and say, 'It is not our turn, but that doe's. Let her go.' Thus they will not release me from my turn, but call me and say, 'Go, it is your turn.' Now this is what I desire, that a deer from this herd be sent by the king of the herd, and then, when I am delivered(**363**), I shall go."

The king of the deer said to her, "Now be not afraid. I shall send another." And he instructed the crier, saying, "Command the deer in this herd, whose turn it is, to go. I have granted immunity to this doe."

So the crier ordered the deer, whose turn it was, to go to the king's kitchen. But that deer replied, "It is not the turn of our herd to-day, it is the turn of Viśākha's herd." The crier answered and said, "Yes, to-day it is the turn of Viśākha's herd, but the doe whose turn it is, is pregnant with two young ones in her womb. But they will not give her respite, and say, 'It is your turn, go.' And thus, as she was not relieved, she came to this herd, and appealed to Nyagrodha, the king of the herd. Nyagrodha granted her immunity, and gave orders that the deer in this herd whose turn it was should go. Now, that turn is yours, so go." But that deer replied, "To-day is the turn of the other herd. I shall not go out of my turn." And in the same way all who were ordered were unwilling to go out of their turn.

So the crier reported to Nyagrodha, the king of the deer, and said, "No one at all is willing to go out of his turn; they say that it is not the turn of this herd to-day, but of the other." The king of the herd replied, "Go to![1] I have granted immunity to this doe, and therefore she cannot be sent to the king's kitchen. I shall go myself."

The king of the herd came down the track that led from the forest and went towards Benares. All men who saw him

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[1] ? *millehi*. Senart doubtfully suggests that this is a simpler orthographical form of the imperative of *mell*, "to drive away," and compares the Greek ἄπαγε.

going followed him, for he was a deer of striking comeliness, brightly speckled, with red hoofs, and bright and lovely jet-black eyes.

Followed by a great crowd of people he went on his way until he entered the city. And when he was seen by the citizens he was recognized by the great throng as the king of the deer. When they saw him they were sore distressed.(**364**) For they thought that the whole herd of deer had dwindled away, and that now the king himself was coming. "Let us go to our king," said they, "and appeal to him and ask that this king of the deer be set free and not killed. For this deer will be an eye-delighting adornment of this capital city as he runs about in the gardens and parks, and when people see him they will enjoy a pleasing sight."

So the nobles, accompanied by the great multitude, entered the king's palace on the heels of the king of the deer. And while the king of the deer proceeded to the kitchen, the citizens approached the king where he sat on the seat of judgment and petitioned him. "O great king," said they, "all that herd of deer is destroyed. Though they feed inoffensively on dried and fresh grass, molesting no one, yet have they all been destroyed, and here is the king of the herd himself come. Hard would it be, your majesty, to find such a lovely, beautiful deer, such a delight to the eye of man, as this king of deer is. As the people strolled out of the city among the gardens, parks, pleasure-grounds and lotus-ponds, they could see this king of deer, and would be glad that he had become an adornment of the city's pleasaunces. Therefore, if it is your majesty's pleasure, let this king of deer go free with his life."

Then the king bade his ministers go and bring that king of deer from the kitchen. The ministers went and brought the deer into the king's presence. The king asked him, "Why did you come yourself? Is there no longer any other deer that you come yourself?"

The king of deer replied, "Your majesty, it is not that there are no other deer. Moreover, to-day it was really the turn of the other herd. But the doe in that herd, whose turn it happened to be, was pregnant with two young ones in her womb. That doe was called and bidden: 'Go to the king's kitchen. To-day is your turn.'

"Now the king of that other herd is Viśākha. The doe went to him and said, 'To-day, it is my turn to go to the king's kitchen, but I am pregnant with two young ones in my womb. I wish, therefore, that another be sent, and then, when I am delivered, I will go.' But the other deer that was ordered to go in her stead was not willing, saying that it was the doe's turn and that she should go. In short, all those deer would not excuse her but kept saying, 'To-day is your turn. Go.'

"And as she was not relieved by them she came and appealed to me, saying,(**365**) 'To-day it is my turn to go from my herd, and I have two young ones in my womb. But they will not let me be. What I desire is that the king of the deer should order a deer from this herd to go to the king's kitchen. When I am delivered I will go myself.'

"I gave immunity to that doe. But the deer that I ordered to go in her place was not willing and said, 'It is not the turn of our herd, but of the other.' And in the same way all who were ordered were unwilling to come hither out of their turn. Then I reflected that, since I had given immunity to the doe, I should go myself. And so here am I come myself."

When the king heard the deer he was amazed, and all the people with him, exclaiming, "Ah! What a righteous king of deer!" And the king of Kāśi thought, "It is not this deer which lays down his life for another and knows what is dharma, that is the beast. We are the beasts, who know not dharma and inflict harm on such beautiful, sterling, and inoffensive creatures." To the king of deer he said, "I am delighted with your presence. You are compassionate and magnanimous, since, though only a deer, you gave immunity to that doe who bore life within her. On your account and as a result of what you have said, I also grant immunity to all deer. From this day forth I grant immunity to all deer in the land. Go, and dwell here all of you without fear or trembling."

And the king caused a proclamation to be made in the city by bellmen: "No one is to molest deer in my realm, because of the grant of immunity that I have bestowed on this king of deer."

In time the rumour of this reached the devas, and Śakra, the lord of devas, in order to test the king, created several

hundred thousand deer. The whole land of Kāśi swarmed with them ; there was not a field without deer. The people of the country appealed to the king.

Nyagrodha, the king of deer, called the doe and said to her, "Good doe, return to the herd of Viśākha." But she replied, "O king of deer, I will not go. I had rather die with you than live with Viśākha." And she recited this verse :—

(366) *Men should follow Nyagrodha and not seek Viśākha.*
It is better to die with Nyagrodha than live with Viśākha.[1]

The people of the country appealed to the king, saying,

"The land is being despoiled; this rich realm is being ruined. Deer devour the crops. O king, put an end to this."

"Let the land be despoiled and this rich realm ruined. I will not call it a wrong that I have given this boon to the king of deer."

From this bestowing of a gift on the deer the wood at Ṛiṣipattana[2] was named Mṛigadāya.[3]

"In twelve years the Bodhisattva will leave his existence among the Tuṣitas." And the Śuddhāvāsa devas, assuming the guise of brāhmans, recited the Vedas and Mantras, and told the thirty-two marks of a Great Man, as they proclaimed the coming of the Bodhisattva into the world.

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[1] Cf. *Jātaka* 1. 152, 4. 43.
[2] So spelt here.
[3] Elsewhere in the *Mahāvastu* and in Buddhist Sanskrit the name of this park is Mṛigadāva. Here it is called Mṛigadāya in order to fit the etymology suggested by the above story (*Mṛiga* + *dā*). In the Pali texts, also, the name is almost always Migadāya.

INDEX I. TOPICS

INDEX II. NAMES*

(Titles of works in italics. Pali works cited in footnotes are not listed. See list of abbreviations.)

* The Long lists of Buddhas on pp. 108 *ff.* are not included.

INDEX III. SANSKRIT WORDS

Some Sanskrit words discussed in the notes, with some Pali equivalent or related words in brackets.